A.

THE HISTORY OF THE *REVOLUTION*, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ENGLAND,

In the YEAR, 1688.

Introduced by a Neceſſary REVIEW of the Reigns of King *CHARLES* and King *JAMES* the Second.

In THREE BOOKS.

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THE PREFACE.

THE Subject of this Work is ſuch as I have often thought on, and have long wiſh'd to ſee undertaken by a Hand equal to the Dignity of it. This not appearing, I had frequent Intentions of attempting it my ſelf; but ſtill I was unwilling to anticipate any Part of my *Hiſtory of England*, which was then preparing for the Preſs. And tho' I have in a great Meaſure effected it in my *Reign of King* James *the Second*; yet having ſince then new Aſſiſtances and Inducements, I have ventur'd upon it in this ſingle Volume, in a Way more ſuccinct and complete than before. Which may ſerve to inform the Minds of thoſe who know but little of theſe Tranſactions, and refreſh the Memory of thoſe who know the moſt of them.

Tho' it be but thirty ſix Years ſince the finiſhing of the great *Revolution* and *Eſtabliſhment* here treated of, and there are

many alive that remember both; yet there are great Numbers that remember them very imperfectly, or quite miſtake many Particulars on which they turn, and which brought them to Maturity and Completion. By which Means they are often led into Errors and Anachroniſms; which quickly appear when any Diſputes or Controverſies ariſe upon the Account of thoſe Subjects. And as they have really miſunderſtood ſome Facts, ſo they have been too ignorant of the Springs, and the main Steps that brought on, and the Impediments, and likewiſe Accidents, that diſturb'd and ſlackned this wonderful Work. So that as there is ſufficient Reaſon to rectify the Miſtakes of thoſe who were then alive, ſo there is greater ſtill to inform the Underſtandings of thoſe who were born ſince, and who may have imbib'd falſe or imperfect Notions of thoſe Times.

As the Government, in four Reigns, has ever ſince the Year 1688. ſtood upon the ſame Bottom; ſurely it muſt be highly uſeful to ſhow what Way was made for that laſting Foundation, as how the Rubbiſh was remov'd, and with what Materials the Buildings was erected. So that every Perſon may know how, in his own Mind, to approve or diſallow of the Particulars, without being led into Errors, or unneceſſary Diſputes. Tho' I have enter'd

ter'd into no Controverſies, nor have us'd any Arguments, but what are Hiſtorical, and make up a neceſſary Part of the Work; yet I am willing to hope, That *a clear and impartial View of thoſe Affairs* will be helpful to ſettle ſome Perſons Uncertainties, and be of particular Service to the preſent Conſtitution of the Kingdom.

But if any ſhall think that this Undertaking is uſeleſs, or impertinent, as having been perform'd by others, and ſhall look upon it as only *a repeated old Story*: I will venture to encourage ſuch by aſſuring them, That they ſhall find ſeveral new and material Paſſages in this, and likewiſe many others ſet in a better Light, and more perfect Method, than what has formerly been done: And all this with as little Tediouſneſs and Prolixity as the Matter wou'd bear; and moreover improv'd with ſuch proper Obſervations as were moſt agreeable to the Subject. So that if they think fit to read over every Part in a regular Way, without Starts and Interruptions, they may, I hope, with ſome Pleaſure, be ſoon Maſters of the whole, and as eaſily retain it in their Memories.

And to make it ſtill more uſeful and permanent, and to enlighten the whole, I have prefix'd *Introductory* Eſſays and Diſcourſes; which, tho' at firſt ſeemingly diſtant and remote, are highly uſeful to clear

the Way, and to open the Scene to the main Matter. Such are thoſe proper and different *Reviews* of the Reigns of King *Charles* and King *James* the Second. In both which we find the ſeveral Incidents that caus'd and occaſion'd, as well as the Difficulties that troubled and obſtructed, that ſignal Deliverance.

The former, that of King *Charles*, is ſhown in a Method proper to the particular Occaſion, and in a different Light in what it has been ſeen by many Perſons, Writers as well as Others. And as there have been a numerous Train of Difficulties attending the Accounts of that Reign, ſo there has been much Pains taken to obviate them, without entering into a tedious Account of them. The Inequalities of it, and the Inconſiſtencies in it, have much darkned it in the Eyes of common Enquiries into the principnl Tranſactions of it. Therefore in the Writing of it formerly, and in the *Reviewing* of it ſince, I have been oblig'd to uſe more Caution and Labour than about any other Reign whatſoever, in order to refute and remove thoſe *Vulgar Errors* that ſeem'd to have been inſeparably annex'd to it.

In that Reign, as a diſtinguiſhing Part of it, I found it neceſſary to inſert a ſhort and curious Hiſtory of *Paſſive Obedience*, &c. as it was taught and explain'd for near

near 28 Years; And this as introductory and opening to the great Work, which was ſo much affected by it. This ſhews how it begun, and was carry'd on in that Reign; how it govern'd and prevail'd at ſome Times; how it was check'd and interpreted at others; how far it was judg'd conſiſtent, or otherwiſe, with the Government of a free Nation; and how it met with its Ebbs and Floods, according as Accidents and Humours abounded in the Kingdom. And all this without reflecting upon Parties; with Intention to ſhow the *Effects*, as well as the *Merits* of that Doctrine, and how far it prov'd an Impediment, or no, to the laſt great *Eſtabliſhment*. As to the latter End of the ſame Reign, the ſuppos'd intended Change, and the Death of the King; if I have not been particular enough, it is for want of that clear Information which I have often endeavour'd to obtain.

The *Review* of the next Reign, of King *James*, is more particular and regular, his Actions more immediately cauſing and forcing the great Turn of Affairs; and therefore nothing is omitted that ſeems neceſſary to that Subject. This Reign was a continual Series of ſtrange and large Steps; which, tho' ruinous to the Undertakers, were ſo ſtrongly back'd and ſupported, by outward Means and Appearances, and brought every Thing ſo *near* to

the Borders of Deſtruction, that the Eſcape was ſurprizing and wondeful, and ought ever to be remember'd by all true *Engliſh* Men. Had Providence concurr'd with an unuſual Meeeting off different Powers and Intereſts abroad, and an unaccountable Train of Neglects and Infatuations at home, the ſame Ruin which fell upon the Heads of the *Romiſh* Party, muſt have ſeiz'd upon the Heads and Members of the other.

This is the Subject of the reſt, and the largeſt Part of the Undertaking; tho' ſhorteſt as to Compaſs of Time. Of which Part I ſhall ſay but little more of the Subject of it, than what the Title Page informs the Reader, namely, 'It is a clear and full Hi-'ſtory of the *Revolution* and *Eſtabliſhment* 'of *England* in the Year 1688. attempted 'in ſuch a lively and eaſy Manner, as may 'be moſt agreeable to the Taſte of the ge-'nerality of Readers.

Of all this I have endeavour'd to give a fair and impartial Account, without ſtraining on one Side, or concealing on the other; ſo that every Paſſage may appear in its true and genuine Light. And as I have related nothing here, but what I really believe to be true; ſo I have not advanc'd any thing but what was agreeable to my Judgment and Opinion many Years ago. I always thought the *Revolution* to be a great *Deliverance*; and I have the more readily

readily aſſerted it in this Hiſtory, becauſe it was not only the Opinion and Declaration of the Lords and Commons, Lawyers, and chief Divines of the Nation, but alſo of ſeveral who had the Misfortune not to comply with the *Eſtabliſhment* that immediately ſucceded it. I hope I have, without forcing the Subject, made it appear to be a Deliverance, by laying open the miſerable State of the Nation before it happen'd. And if any ſhall account this to be *Partiality*, I am willing to ſubmit to that Character. But if any ſort of People, by abuſing the Mercy on one ſide, and obſtructing the Benefits of it on another, have introduc'd unforeſeen Difficulties, I have nothing to alledge on ſuch a Caſe.

I am ſenſible that a great Part of this Attempt is an invidious Task, and may be look'd upon as triumphing over the Misfortunes of others; which a candid and a good-natur'd Man wou'd willingly avoid. But when the Faith of crown'd Heads, and Miniſters of State, are openly violated; and when the State of whole Nations and Kingdoms are affected, both as to their Religions and Liberties, a faithful Writer muſt not be too ſparing, with relation either to Perſons or Things.

I cannot expect to make the World believe every Thing I have here related; for

for that wou'd be an unpardonable Weakneſs or Fondneſs in any Author. The Belief of Mankind very often depends more upon Inclination, than Conviction; therefore I muſt not pretend to argue with any ſuch as thoſe. All that I can, and ought to do, is to amend and retract any Thing or Fact that ſhall plainly appear faulty and injurious to Truth; more eſpecially where Charity or Juſtice is concern'd. In this Caſe, I have more than once promis'd to the ſame Effect; and have as gladly perform'd thoſe Promiſes, whenever Occaſion or Opportunity fairly offer'd it ſelf. Here, I wou'd be ſo ſcrupulouſly careful that I am not only willing to obſerve the Advice and Admonition of Friends, but the very Reproaches of Enemies, ſo far as I am *truly* and *juſtly* charg'd. But if any ſhall charge me with *Deſigns*, *Inclinations*, *Opinions*, *Inſinuations*, &c. (of which every Author is the trueſt Judge) I do not think my ſelf oblig'd to make any Reply to ſuch, or to endeavour to anſwer any expected Reparation.

However I will venture to aſſure the Reader, that neither in *Fact* nor *Opinion* I have willingly miſled him; tho' I have not always produc'd my Vouchers, which might have given him more Trouble than Satisfaction. I have therefore put no Authorities in the Margin; but whenever they appear neceſſary, they are nam'd in the

the Body of the Book. I have made uſe of all former and latter Aſſiſtances, as cou'd make for my purpoſe, and of *ſo much* of Biſhop *Burnet*'s Hiſtory, as I was ſatisfy'd wou'd be beneficial to this Deſign.

To detain the Reader no longer; As ſerving the Publick has ever been my firſt View, ſo it has always been my Deſire, and my hearty Wiſh, to ſee my ſelf outdone upon the ſame Subject. And now we have reaſon to hope, that ſomething greater and better upon this, and other Subjects, will in Time appear from the late noble Inſtitutions in the two Univerſities, the *Profeſſorſhips of Hiſtory*, from whence, and the Royal *Hiſtoriographer*, all ſuch Works of Moment ſhou'd ariſe. When any ſuch appears from them, or from any other Hand, that is ſuperior to what I have done, (which may very eaſily be effected) I am content that the Memory of my Works may be wholly extinguiſh'd, and no further Mention be made of them in the World.

THE

THE CONTENTS.

THE Intrduction: *Containing a few Particulars to be remember'd in ſome of the preceding Reigns,* Page 1

BOOK I.

Containing a neceſſary Review of the main Parts of the Reigns of King Charles *and King* James *the Second.*

CHAP. I.

A Review of the Reign of King Charles *the Second, from his Reſtoration to his Death. Containing about twenty four Years,* p. 9

CHAP. II.

A fuller Review of the Reign of King James *the Second, from his Acceſſion to the Throne to the Beginning of the* Revolution. *Containing about three Years and an half,* p. 56

BOOK

CONTENTS.

BOOK II.

Containing an Account of the Revolution, *from the Beginning to the End of it.*

CHAP. I.

From the Beginnings of the Revolution, *till it became apparent and visible in the World, to* September 1688, p. 105

CHAP. II.

From the open Appearance of the Revolution, *to the Landing of the Prince of* Orange. *Containing about six Weeks,* p. 136

CHAP. III.

From the Landing of the Prince of Orange, *to the Desertion of King* James. *Containing about five Weeks,* p. 158

CHAP. IV.

From the Desertion of King James, *to his total Dereliction of the Nation, and the Vacancy of the Throne. Containing thirteen Days,* p. 189

BOOK III.

The History of the Establishment, *From the Vacancy of the Throne, to the Filling of it with the Prince and Princess of* Orange.

CHAP.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.

From the Departure of King James *to the Meeting of the* Convention *Parliament. Containing about four Weeks,* p. 207

CHAP. II.

From the Meeting of the Convention, *to the Compleating of the* Eſtabliſhment, *by the Prince and Princeſs of* Orange. *Containing twenty two Days,* p. 223

THE

THE INTRODUCTION:

CONTAINING

A few Particulars to be remember'd in ſome of the Preceding Reigns.

I. IT has been obſerv'd by foreigners and others, That the iſle of *Great-Britain* has been more ſubjected to changes and revolutions, and at the ſame time more fortunate in eſcapes and deliverances, than any of its neighbouring countries. The laſt of theſe is the main ſubject of the following work; tho' ſome others ought firſt to be tranſiently remember'd. Therefore before we enter directly upon the account of this laſt, it will be convenient not only to take notice of ſome previous occurrences that happened juſt immediately before that great turn, but likewiſe to glance at ſome particulars more diſtant and remote from it. All which may be uſeful in clearing the way, and opening the ſcene; and alſo may help to raiſe our admiration and gratitude, excite our care and induſtry, and furniſh us with means of more compleat knowledge and inſtruction. *The Preface.*

The Escapes in England.

As the escapes and deliverances attending the *protestant*, or rather *catholick* religion restor'd, have been both frequent and critical in several parts of *Europe*, within the compass of less than two hundred years; so those in the *British* dominions seem to have been still more peculiar and signal; whether these escapes were from the dangers arising from *popish* princes, at home and abroad, or those from the avow'd principles and practices of the court and church of *Rome*.

Under Henry *the* VIIIth.

From the time that King *Henry* the eighth renounc'd the supremacy of the church of *Rome*, and laid the foundation for the *protestant* profession, there has been in *England* a sort of a continued series of conspiracies and attempts, not only against that religion, but also the *British* dominions; which sometimes have appear'd in the most threatning forms and terrifying views imaginable. What plots were contriv'd at home, and what designs form'd abroad, in the reign of this prince, towards the ruin of the *English* government, are notorious to all readers of history.

Edward VI.

But all these were blasted by providence and the result of inferior means; and the *protestant* religion flourish'd and increas'd above measure in the next reign of King *Edward* the sixth.

Queen Mary.

When Queen *Mary* match'd with King *Philip* of *Spain*, this land was in most imminent danger of falling into a miserable servitude under the heavy yoke of the *Spaniards*; which many nations, that have been subject to them, have found to be intolerable. The blind and furious zeal of that Queen had very near rooted out all the hopeful plants of the preceding reign, and in consequence, expell'd the true religion out of the nation. At the same time was a mighty expectation of the issue by the *Spanish* marriage with the Queen, who her

her ſelf was alſo a *Spaniard* by the mother's ſide; and ſolemn forms of prayers and thankſgivings were provided for her conception and ſafe delivery. And beſides, an act paſs'd in parliament, "That if Queen *Mary* dy'd in child-bed, King "*Philip* ſhould have the government of *England* "during the minority of the child." If theſe things had ſucceeded, it is eaſy to conceive what miſery muſt have attended the *Engliſh* nation.

Moreover, if an iſſue of that marriage had liv'd to reign over *England*, together with the other dominions of the *Spaniards*, what could the former have been but an inferior tributary province to be govern'd at the pleaſure of the *Spaniſh* nation? which was attempted and carry'd on in the *Low-countries*, with inſufferable cruelties; and with general maſſacres in the *Weſt-Indies*. And here, without ſuperſtition, we may behold the bounty of heaven, in the eaſy prevention of all theſe miſchiefs. The Queen's ſuppos'd conception vaniſh'd, and ſhe her ſelf was ſoon remov'd by death; from which time King *Philip* had no longer any intereſt or influence in *England*.

Queen Elizabeth.

This open'd a clear paſſage to the princeſs *Elizabeth*, who in ſpite of all the arts and attempts made both againſt her perſon and ſucceſſion, readily mounted the throne, and ſoon became the glory and wonder of the *weſtern* world. And heaven, which often delights to found its power in weakneſs, ſeems in this Queen, and her brother *Edward*, to let the world ſee what great things it could effect by a woman and a child. The name of *Elizabeth* in a ſhort time prov'd a terror to diſtant countries. The fam'd council of *Trent*, which ended not long after the beginning of her reign, having by orders from *Rome* mov'd that the chiefs of the *proteſtants*, and in

particular the Queen of *England*, ſhould be excommunicated, the Emperor *Ferdinand*, apprehending the danger, wrote a warm letter to them, intimating, "That if the council would not "yield the fruit that was expected, namely, *an* "*union of all catholicks to reform the church*, at "leaſt they ſhould not give an occaſion to the "proteſtants more ſtrongly to unite themſelves, "which they wou'd certainly do, in caſe they "proceeded againſt the Queen of *England*: For "undoubtedly that means would be us'd to form "a general league againſt the catholicks, which "would produce vaſt inconveniencies." By this a religious war might have rag'd in many parts of chriſtendom; but this wiſe admonition proved ſo effectual, that the Pope deſiſted in *Rome*, and revok'd the commiſſion given to the legates in *Trent*.

To come nearer, it is to be remember'd, what a multitude of plots and ſchemes were contriv'd for the defeat of this great Queen, when the next heir to the crown was a papiſt, an enemy to the *Engliſh* eſtabliſhment, and marry'd to the prince of *France*. Theſe projects were deeply laid, and if they had taken place, *England*, in human probability, had been ſubjected to *France* in point of civil government, and to *Rome* in matters of religion. And here may be gratefully remember'd the protection of the Queen, and the eſcape of the kingdom. For while the enemies of the church and ſtate were ſeeking ruin in the deſtruction of her royal perſon, the *French* King, who had marry'd the next heir, dy'd, and left her a widow without iſſue; and ſhe her ſelf, not many years after, became a priſoner, and incapable of effecting, tho' continually attempting, great and dangerous deſigns.

Farther, we are to remember how the great enemies to the church, throughout the whole reign,

reign, were frequently ſhewing themſelves in their conſpiracies and treaſonable practices. And when their plots were ſurprizingly detected and confounded, they form'd a vaſt deſign and attempt to overwhelm and ruin the *Engliſh* nation with the over-grown power of *Spain*, in the year 1588; a deſign long projected, and ſuddenly blaſted. So that in concluſion, notwithſtanding the power and policy of *Rome*, *Spain*, and all allies and adherents, this noble Queen ſurmounted and triumph'd over all dangers, and was carry'd to the grave in peace, full of years, riches and honours; and King *James*, her ſucceſſor, both in her dominions and her religion, was peacefully eſtabliſhed in her throne.

It was not long after this peaceful ſettlement, James I. when a ſtrange diſcovery was made of an infernal deſign, form'd by the *romaniſts*, to exterminate, as it were, with one blow, both church and ſtate. This was ſo black, that it needs no aggravation, only a bare mentioning what the impartial *Thuanus*, a profeſs'd *roman* catholick, ſays of it; he fairly tells us, "That wiſe men, "who were not attach'd to the *proteſtant* party, "ſearching for all manner of excuſe for that "fact, did notwithſtanding believe, *That in all* "*antiquity there cou'd not be found an inſtance of* "*the like barbarity.*" This is uſually call'd by the name of the *powder-plot*, which if it had met with ſucceſs, muſt have brought the moſt imaginable calamity and confuſion upon the nation. Inſomuch that the legiſlative it ſelf thought fit to appoint a perpetual commemoration of this ſignal eſcape and deliverance.

Thus the cruelties in Queen *Mary*'s reign, the *romiſh* projections in the next, and this great conſpiracy in King *James*'s reign, gave the deepeſt wounds to *popery* in *England*; and providen-

tially made way for future eſcapes from all dangers that ſhould ariſe from that quarter.

II. In the reign of King *James* the firſt, as far as it appears, were unhappily ſown the ſeeds of ſtrange diſcontents and diviſions among the people of *England*; which if not really planted, are believed to have been nouriſh'd and water'd, or at leaſt accidently improv'd, by means of the *romiſh* party. However, they began to have a particular appearance towards the end of this reign, which by ruſt and indolence had fallen ſhort of the glories of the laſt.

Charles I. Theſe ſeeds, not ſtifled in due time, in the next reign, ſoon encreas'd in ſtrength, and gradually aroſe to a moſt plentiful crop; which being ripen'd by unforeſeen misfortunes from abroad, and numberleſs accidents at home, brought on all the miſeries of a civil war and devaſtation; and moreover, a ſurprizing revolution unknown to the *Engliſh* nation, not only the deſtruction of their monarch, but the extermination of monarchy it ſelf.

And Charles II. Yet ſtill in all theſe ſtruggles and confuſions, which were blown up and promoted by ſome, and cou'd be no otherwiſe than a mighty incouragement to all foreigners, the nation, when in moſt imminent danger, was never invaded from abroad; but under a new government, a ſtranger to the *Engliſh* conſtitution, by degrees gather'd ſo much ſtrength, as to be able to invade others with uncommon ſucceſs. But this government being exotick to the ſoil, and in the hands of a few, and thoſe ſupported by an unnatural military power, ſoon prov'd like the extremes in mechaniſm, and quite ſunk and diſappear'd. And in a little time, by means of the variety

variety of uſurpations, and the ebbs and floods of unheard-of powers, the nation was reduc'd to a broken and languiſhing condition; uncertain, as well as unable to make a right ſtep towards its recovery.

In the midſt of theſe perplexing difficulties, and endleſs projects attending them; it was ſuddenly reſtor'd by a wonderful and bloodleſs revolution; which eſcape and deliverance, as well as the laſt, is perpetuated by a ſolemn act of parliament.

BOOK I.

Containing a neceſſary Review of the main Parts of the Reigns of King Charles, *and King* James *the Second.*

CHAP I.

A Review of the Reign of King Charles *the Second, from his Reſtoration to his Death.*

Containing about Twenty Four Years.

I. AND here is the proper time to open the ſcene in a more particular manner to the following account of the *revolution* and *eſtabliſhment* in the year 1688. For the clearer proceeding in which, it will be convenient to remember ſomething relating to this turn juſt now mention'd, which happen'd but twenty eight years before; and to come to a fair recapitulation of the moſt influential tranſactions in the reigns of the two royal brothers, *The Preface.*

brothers, *Charles* and *James* the ſecond. The former requires the niceſt examination and underſtanding, and is more difficult, perhaps, than any reign ſince the conqueſt. Therefore we ſhall endeavour to ſet all that ſeems proper to be us'd by way of *introduction* in a full and clear light; free from thoſe obſcurities rais'd by the inferior writers of that reign, whoſe wilful neglects and omiſſions have been ſometimes more injurious than their real errors.

The weak State of the Nation in 1660.

In order to this, we are firſt to conſider the diſtorted and unnatural ſtate of the kingdom at the time of that ſurprizing turn of affairs in the year 1660. Beſides theſe obvious miſchiefs and diſtractions that uſually attend a long civil war, and continual fluctuations, which need not here be enumerated, the publick it ſelf, with all its ſubſiſting powers, was really reduc'd, as before hinted, to a ſickly and conſumptive condition; not ſo much by the political miſmanagements, as the neceſſities conſequential to pretended authorities and bold uſurpations. The nation had not only been oppreſs'd by variety of ſtrange taxes and impoſts, but labour'd under great and uncommon debts: And, what is almoſt incredible, the naval power, which had ſo lately been formidable to *Chriſtendom*, was at this time in ſo low a ſtate, that it had not then in all the magazines and ſtores, arms ſufficient to put into the hands of five thouſand men, nor proviſion enough to ſet out ten new ſhips to ſea. This was a ſecret unknown to the generality of the world, and of that mighty moment, that it was not diſcover'd till five years after, when the miſchief had been in a great meaſure repair'd; and then the lord chancellor, in his ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, freely declar'd, "That "tho' his majeſty then liv'd upon credit, he "did not deſire that this ſhould be known to "his

" his beſt *neighbours*; and therefore he did not ſo much as make it known to his parliament." ——Not to enlarge upon the reigning diſtempers of that time, it is enough to obſerve, That the conſtitution ſuffer'd, both from inward weakneſſes and outward pains; and by reaſon of its frequent and violent agitations, was become ſo tender, as hardly to be reduc'd to its primary vigour, without the niceſt and moſt ſteady applications.

The Remedies apply'd.

Such *England* had the happineſs to meet with in this difficult juncture of time; a time when mens minds were generally confounded with conſcious apprehenſions on one ſide, and fir'd with zeal and tranſports on the other. To moderate all theſe was a work of the higheſt skill and circumſpection; and tho' the great turn which made way for all this was little leſs than miraculous, yet the recovery of a conſtitution ſo miſerably broken was chiefly owing to the wiſdom and tenderneſs of the rulers, the King himſelf, his then miniſtry, and the two houſes of parliament, who with great unanimity made uſe of the moſt healing and reviving methods, and as much as poſſible avoided all degrees of retroſpection, as a poiſon which was ſure to mingle with every reſolution that tended to a laſting quiet and ſettlement. Their buſineſs at this time was not to bring paſt crimes and demerits upon the ſtage, but to open a delightful ſcene for the exerciſe of every man's loyalty, according to his capacity. And tho' many happened to be diſoblig'd and offended, and ſome not without open occaſion, yet the general ſteps they made appeared great and god-like, and produc'd ſuch a large act of grace and oblivion, as extended to all the direful appearances, and frightful exigencies of the ſeaſon. And, as the noble hiſtorian juſtly obſerv'd, " Not only all the wounds

" were

" were bound up and heal'd, but even the ſcars " were made as undiſcernable, as in reſpect of " deepneſs was poſſible: So that nothing was " deſir'd to compleat and crown all, but *eſta-* " *bliſhment* and *perpetuity*.

Hopeful. The aſpect of the times was ſo fair as to promiſe both; and ſuch a ſettled ſtate of health as may be expected from human eſtabliſhments; which, like human bodies, are ever ſubject to relapſe and decay. And had the caution and ſteddineſs always appear'd in the crown, that did in the parliaments and miniſtry at the beginning, both had ſtill been more hopeful; and the remedies then preſcrib'd and us'd might have had a more laſting operation and benefit. Yet ſtill it often happens, that the ſame remedies which are made up for the cure and preſervation of a ſhatter'd conſtitution, and at that juncture moſt likely to be ſucceſsful, do by unſeaſonable repetition, and a fond continuance, prove moſt dangerous to its ſtrength and vitals.

The Acts of Parliament againſt Reſiſtance. Among ſuch, we may proceed to take notice of thoſe ſtrengthning acts of parliament contriv'd for the ſecurity of the crown againſt the late rebellious practices, then ſo freſh and frightful in the memory of the nation: Laws made with the moſt pacifick intention, and of ſingular relief and benefit to the publick quiet at that extraordinary juncture. And tho' they were critically adapted to that ſeaſon, yet they were ſuch as might ſerve at any other, as long as they were known not to be inconſiſtent with that *mix'd government*, the form of which the legiſlators never deſign'd to alter, but to reeſtabliſh and perpetuate upon its former foundation.

2. The

2. The firſt act to be mention'd is that for an *attainder of the regicides*, which paſs'd ſoon after the tryal and execution of ſeveral of them, by the convention-parliament a little before its diſſolution. It has in it theſe poſitive words; "Be it hereby declared, That by the undoubted and fundamental laws of this kingdom, "Neither the peers of this realm, nor the commons, nor both together, in parliament or "out of parliament, nor the people *collectively*, "or *repreſentatively*, nor any other perſons whatſoever, ever had, hath or ought to have any "*coercive* power over the perſons of the Kings "of this realm. *The Firſt.*

The next act of this kind was paſs'd about a year after by the next parliament, and was call'd the *corporation* act, and this made a remarkable alteration in many borough-towns in the nation, which the court look'd upon not only as Rivals to the ſupremacy, but as nurſeries of ſedition. The intention of the act is thus declar'd, "That the *ſucceſſion* in ſuch corporations may "be moſt probably perpetuated in the hands "of perſons well affected to his majeſty, and "the *eſtabliſh'd government*, &c." Therefore to ſecure that point, every officer from the higheſt to the loweſt, in every corporation, was oblig'd, beſides the common oath of *allegiance* and *ſupremacy*, and a diſtinct *declaration* againſt the *ſolemn league and covenant*, to take this declaratory oath, "That it was not lawful upon "any pretence whatſoever, to take arms againſt "the King; and that he did abhor that traiterous poſition [*often us'd in the preceding reign*] "of taking arms by his *authority* againſt his "*perſon*, or againſt thoſe *commiſſion'd* by him." The neglect of theſe qualifications, or part of them *The Second.*

them, was afterwards alledg'd as one reaſon for the forfeiture of charters.

The Third. The third act paſs'd within half a year after, and was called the *militia* act, the ſubject of which had been one of the moſt viſible cauſes of the late civil war. Anſwerable to the *declarations* in the two laſt acts, this begins with theſe words: "Foraſmuch as within all his "majeſty's realms and dominions, the ſole and "ſupream power, government, command and "diſpoſition of the *militia*, and of all forces "by ſea and land, and of all forts and places "of ſtrength is, and by the laws of *England* "ever was, the undoubted right of his majeſty, "and his royal predeceſſors, Kings and Queens "of *England*; and that both or either of the "houſes of parliament, cannot, or ought to "pretend to the ſame; nor can, nor lawfully "may raiſe, or levy any war, *offenſive* or *de-* "*fenſive*, againſt his majeſty, his heirs, or law- "ful ſucceſſors, *&c.*" Not ſatisfy'd with this preamble, which ſeem'd to fence againſt all evaſion and reſerve, a particular oath, like the former, was made neceſſary to be taken by all lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, officers and ſoldiers, in theſe words, "I, *A. B.* do declare "and believe, That it is not lawful, upon any "pretence whatſoever, to take arms againſt the "King; and that I do abhor that traiterous "poſition, That arms may be taken by his *au-* "*thority* againſt his *perſon*, or againſt thoſe that "are *commiſſion'd* by him, in *purſuance* of ſuch "military commiſſions.

The Fourth. And that all orders of men, *eccleſiaſtical*, as well as *military* and *civil*, might be brought into this obligation and poſition, in the famous *act of uniformity*, which paſs'd at the ſame time with the laſt nam'd act, the whole body of the clergy, enjoying any benefice or ſalary, were oblig'd

oblig'd to make this *declaration*, " That it was " not lawful, upon any pretence whatſoever, " to take arms againſt the King; and that " they abhor'd that traiterous poſition of taking " arms by his *authority* againſt his *perſon*, or " againſt thoſe that were *commiſſion'd* by him.

The Fifth and Sixth.

The ſame *declaration*, not long after, was by another act made to extend to particular *veſtries*: And after that, to all the *diſſenting preachers*, reſiding in corporations, that had the misfortune not to comply with the *act of uniformity*. And ten years after, it was farther projected in parliament to have made the ſame ſtill more *univerſal*; but it met with a check, that is ſhortly to be explain'd.

Obſervations on them.

When all theſe ſeveral acts come to be conſider'd with the recent remembrance of the miſchiefs of reſiſtance, which had produc'd them; and when they come to be compar'd with the church *homilies*, which are vertually confirm'd by the act of *uniformity*, and likewiſe with that of the beginning of King *James* the firſt, when the parliament oblig'd " Themſelves and their " poſterity, to maintain the *hereditary ſucceſſion* " in him and his *poſterity*, and that for *ever*; " what might a perfect ſtranger, or perſon diſintereſted, or unqualify'd to judge of the old *Engliſh* conſtitution, think of theſe laws when all are joyn'd together? They were form'd in words ſo ſtrong and expreſſive, that if the inventors of them had really deſign'd to give up all that happy mixture and temperature in the *Engliſh* government, they could hardly have found any more effectual in ſo ſmall a compaſs. By joining all together, both *abſolute obedience* and *lineal ſucceſſion* ſeem'd to be ſo confirm'd and fix'd, as never to be alter'd; never, by any leſs powers than thoſe that gave them being.

There-

Therefore all things conſider'd, it can be no wonder if great numbers of lawyers and others, as well as divines, ſhou'd from the words of theſe acts conſcientiouſly eſpouſe a doctrine that was ſo hard to be reconcil'd to their ſecurity againſt exorbitant invaſions. Nor is it ſtrange if they ſhou'd prove an uncommon impediment and obſtruction to any thing that might help forwards the great deliverance afterwards. At that time it was really the opinion of many knowing good men (and the opinion by means of oppoſition increas'd) That all orders and profeſſions, both among the clergy and laity, were pinn'd down by theſe poſitive acts of parliament, and bound to ſuch an *unlimitted obedience* as might render them unable to relieve and extricate themſelves upon the moſt threatning emergency.

Explanation of them by the Legiſlature.

3. But others, who knew the ſprings and progreſs of theſe proceedings, were of another opinion, and were ſenſible of the difference between the temporary and the continu'd uſe of the beſt Medicines. Therefore notwithſtanding the formidable words us'd in theſe acts, the authors of them, the legiſlators, did upon all difficulties think fit to make remarkable interpretations of them, and very great abatements as to the *expreſſion*; ſo that they ſhou'd not prove deſtructive to the rights of a free nation. Upon any moving occaſion they made this their aſſertion, " That they never deſign'd to make " any real alteration in the *Engliſh* conſtitution, " or any direct incroachment upon the ancient " liberties of the people, ſecur'd to them by " *Magna Charta*, and many ſubſequent laws.

The Firſt. Of this we have a plain inſtance, tho' little known at this time: When they had paſs'd the *militia* act, and others in appearance ſo advantagious

gious to the crown, ſome members mov'd that things might be ſettled in the ſame ſtate they were before the meeting of the long parliament; at leaſt they urg'd the reſtoration of the two famous courts of *ſtar-chamber* and *high-commiſſion*, as being rather extorted from, than given up by the late King. But this wou'd not be heard to any purpoſe, and a reaſon was given, "That theſe courts were too much ſupporters of the *prerogative*, and too liable to bear hard upon the *liberties* of the people." Therefore they thought the *king's-bench* court was ſufficient to anſwer the intention of the one, and the *eccleſiaſtical courts*, lately confirm'd, thoſe of the other.

The Second.

But to come to thoſe particular words in the acts, *commiſſion'd by him*, which ſeem moſt to threaten the conſtitution, the very act of *indemnity* will help to explain them, and the rather, ſince the act paſs'd when the parliament ſeem'd moſt warm for the prerogative. It fairly implies, That *commiſſions* muſt be according to *law*, That all others were *nullities*, and the actors under them ſtood as much in need of pardon as any other criminals. Accordingly they are firſt nam'd in theſe words, "Firſt, all manner of treaſons, murthers, felonies, *&c.* councelled, commanded, acted or done by any perſon or perſons,—power, authority, commiſſion or warrant, or inſtructions from his late majeſty King *Charles*, or his majeſty that now is, *&c.*" this act paſs'd above a year and half before the *militia* act.

The Third.

When in the laſt nam'd act theſe words, *commiſſion'd by him*, came to be debated at large in the houſe of commons, while the bill was depending; the great lawyer, ſir *John Vaughan*, in a long ſpeech offer'd many inſtances in the *law-books*, to ſhew, "That the people of *Eng-*

" *land* not only might, but in *ſome caſes* were " bound to take arms againſt perſons *commiſſi-* " *on'd* by the King; and that ſheriffs of coun- " ties were bound, if it cou'd be no otherwiſe " done, to raiſe the *poſſe comitatus* to oppoſe " and ſuppreſs all ſuch as ſhould put any ſuch " *illegal commiſſions* in execution:" Accordingly he preſs'd that the word *lawfully* might be added, to put all out of diſpute. Upon which attorney general *Finch*, a promoter of the bill, anſwer'd, " That it was not neceſſary, ſince " the very word *commiſſion* did import it: For " if it was not *lawfully* iſſu'd out to *lawful* " *perſons*, and for *lawful reaſons*, it was no com- " miſſion;" to which interpretation the whole houſe aſſented. The ſame word *lawfully* was likewiſe preſs'd to be added in the houſe of peers by the noble patriot the earl of *Southampton*, but much the ſame anſwer, given in the houſe of commons, was made by the earl of *Angleſey*. Yet ſtill the former inſiſted upon the word, " Becauſe it would clear all difficulties " with many, who not having heard the parti- " cular ſenſe of both houſes, might imagine, " That if any *ſort* of *commiſſion* was granted, it " wou'd be unlawful to reſiſt it." But in concluſion, it was alledg'd as a full and ſatisfactory anſwer, *That this explanation being the very ſenſe of both houſes, it wou'd ſoon ſpread and be known, ſo as to become the ſenſe of the nation.*

The Fourth. As a farther explanation, it is to be remember'd, that in the year 1675, when in conſequence of theſe reſtraining acts, and as a foundation for a new one, the doctrine of *non-reſiſtance* came to be re-conſider'd in parliament, it receiv'd a remarkable check in the houſe of peers, where it was moſt eſpous'd. The former *oath* and *declaration*, being deſign'd in a new bill to be more general, and in effect univerſal,

it

it gave a fair occaſion for that noble aſſembly to examine and canvaſs it with more niceneſs and exactneſs than formerly, in a famous debate that laſted ſixteen or ſeventeen days, which occaſion'd many curious obſervations.

In this debate, the one ſide call'd it a *moderate ſecurity to the church and crown againſt the dangerous principles of rebellion ſtill remaining in the nation.* The other look'd upon it with horror, and alledg'd, *That no conveyancer cou'd in more compendious terms have drawn a diſſettlement of the whole birth-right of* England. They inſiſted, "That it was ſo far from being *traiterous* in *all* caſes, to take arms by the King's "*authority* againſt his *perſon*, That, in *many* caſes "it was their *duty*;" of which they produc'd ſeveral inſtances in former reigns. And when they came to the moſt formidable words in the oath, *Againſt thoſe commiſſion'd by him*, they declared, "That ſuch words, without diſtinctions "and limitations, wou'd eſſentially change a *civil* and a *regulated* government into one *military* and *arbitrary*; ſo that there cou'd be no "difference between the *Engliſh* and the *Turkiſh* "government." They farther inſiſted, "That "if whatſoever was order'd by the King's *commiſſion*, cou'd not be oppos'd by his *authority*, "then a *ſtanding army* was law, whenever the "King pleas'd." Accordingly they propos'd a remarkable inſtance, *viz.* "If on a ſuit with "a great favourite, a perſon recovers houſe and "lands, and by *courſe of law* be put into poſ-"ſeſſion by the ſheriff, and afterwards the fa-"vourite obtains an order for ſome ſoldiers of "the *ſtanding army* to take poſſeſſion and deli-"ver it back; in ſuch a caſe, the man in poſ-"ſeſſion may juſtify the defence of himſelf, by "killing thoſe who forcibly endeavour to enter "his houſe: Here the party, whoſe houſe is

" invaded, takes arms by the King's own au-
" thority againſt thoſe who are *commiſſion'd by*
" *him.* In like manner, if the ſoldiers had been
" *commiſſion'd* to defend the houſe againſt the
" ſheriff, when he firſt went to take poſſeſſion,
" no *commiſſion* of the King's cou'd put a ſtop
" to the ſheriff, who had ſtill the King's *autho-*
" *rity* in raiſing the *poſſe* of the county to put
" the law in execution. So that in conſequence,
" the government muſt of neceſſity be either
" *arbitrary*, or *inconſiſtent* with its ſelf; the
" former, the greateſt misfortune to the people,
" the latter the greateſt abſurdity to the prince."
It ſeems upon the whole, that when they began to believe that the arms which were given for the ſecurity of the publick, were like to be turn'd againſt themſelves, they thought it time to enquire into the reaſon of their lodgment, as well as the extent of their force. Theſe arguments, and ſome interruptions prevail'd ſo far, that the bill, tho' paſs'd in the committee, never was reported, and ſo came to nothing.

Explanations by Stateſmen.

Tho' it was loſt at a time when it muſt have been a matter of new contention, and the debate ſufficiently ſhew'd how eager it was to *explain*, and how hard to *confirm* the former acts of parliament, when the cauſes of them began to appear leſs to the eye; yet ſtill thoſe living acts did not altogether leave the nation without difficulties in opinion and judgment, or at leaſt apprehenſions of an increaſing power. The body of a people, who are mov'd and ſwell'd by every blaſt of wind, cannot always extinguiſh their fears, when they think they ſee an armed force ready to be let looſe upon them. But ſtill, when there was the leaſt proſpect of danger, every penetrating judge and ſtateſman cou'd find a ſolution and a ſpecious way to unravel the difficulty. They then cou'd readily diſtinguiſh between

tween *rational* and *artificial* powers, between *equity* and *law*, and as eaſily ſhow, "That the "former was both *prior* and *ſuperior* to the lat-"ter." Accordingly one of the chief of them did bravely ſtrike at the difficulty in theſe words: "When all is ſaid, there is a natural *reaſon of* "*ſtate*, an undefinable thing, grounded upon "the common good of mankind, which is *im-*"*mortal*, and in all changes and revolutions, "ſtill preſerveth its *original right* of ſaving a "nation, when the *letter of the law* perhaps "wou'd deſtroy it.

Thus, upon every emergency, did lawyers and ſtateſmen, and even legiſlators themſelves, explain theſe ſeveral acts of parliament, together with thoſe conſequential doctrines, call'd by the names of *non-reſiſtance* and *paſſive-obedience*, which have been ſo often applauded and exploded. Which doctrine they accounted of general, and ſometimes of extraordinary benefit; but ſtill they thought they were never to be forc'd and tortur'd to the deſtruction of human ſociety, or any ancient eſtabliſhment.

4. Beſides theſe, the divines, who never wanted leaders as well as followers, cou'd upon occaſion explain themſelves, and make exceptions agreeable to the notions of liberty; yea, and ſome of them who had carry'd their doctrines to ſuch a height as was hard to be reconcil'd to the government of a free people. They indeed often alledg'd the example of our bleſſed ſaviour, the apoſtles and the primitive *chriſtians*, for the *obedience* they taught, and ſome of them term'd it, *The doctrine of the croſs*: But when ſuch replies as theſe were made to them, "That *their* caſes could not extend to the Kings "of *England*, who tho' intitled *ſupreme*, were "not poſſeſs'd of the *ſole legiſlature*;" they *And by Divines.*

uſually had recourſe to the late ſettled conſtitution, and the forementiond acts of parliament; in which they then never wanted champions in all profeſſions. Yet ſtill the moſt conſiderable of them did, when occaſion offer'd, declare their opinion for *exempt caſes*. They thought that the obedience requir'd in the new teſtament from ſubjects to princes, did much reſemble that from wives and children to their husbands and parents, which always included ſome kind of *exception*, tho' expreſs'd in *abſolute terms*; tho' ſtill they thought that odious and improbable caſes were not to be laid before a people, whoſe giddineſs had lately driven them too much to the contrary extream. Several of them therefore did early declare their thoughts, when they were privately preſs'd to it, and any uncommon difficulties urg'd; and even Dr. *Tillotſon* himſelf, tho' he had writ that letter to the lord *Ruſſel*, which hath been often quoted as unanſwerable, yet would not generally affirm, tho' ask'd before the King in perſon, *That no caſe was to be excepted*. And his majeſty was ſo far from being offended at his caution, that he declar'd to his brother, *That the dean ſpoke like an honeſt man*, and wou'd not have him preſs'd any further.

Yet many adhere to the Letter of them.

But tho' many of the laity and the clergy, of the more ſearching and knowing ſort, did occaſionally make ſuch interpretations and explications of theſe acts of parliament, yet ſtill there were great numbers of both ſorts who hardly thought of exceptions, or more hardly believ'd the truth of them, or at leaſt they could not imagine there would be occaſion for them. Several, both of the clergy and laity, cloſely adher'd to the laſt, and look'd upon all interpretations and abatements as jeſuitical and ſcandalous evaſions, deſtructive to the very *intent*, as well as the *letter* of the law, and accordingly wou'd

not

not comply with any thing that tended to the breach of it, tho' never ſo remote.

As to the generality of the people, who underſtood leaſt of theſe matters, they were a long time kept warm with the remembrance of the miſeries of the late rebellion and civil wars, and rather than not guard againſt the beginnings of ſuch calamities, they were willing to run into an *active*, as well as a *ſuffering* compliance with a prince, who for many years had never given them any cauſe of jealouſy: A prince, whoſe clemency and mercy towards offenders had almoſt been beyond example: A prince, as the earl of *Shaftsbury* ſaid, "Under whom the unfortunate fell gently, and the beſt of all mankind deſerv'd the title of *deliciæ humani generis.*" So that for ſeveral years in that reign, any degree of reſiſtance was not only thought a ſin againſt God, but the higheſt ingratitude againſt the King.

Thus matters appear'd, and were carry'd on for the greateſt part of the reign:——Yet after all, the notion of *paſſive-obedience* ſeems often to have been in an uncertain and fluctuating condition; ſometimes ſleeping, and othertimes rouzing; now contracted, and then extended, as the dangers ſeem'd to ariſe from different quarters, or as various apprehenſions, humours and provocations were excited and blown up amongſt a divided people. The diſputes about it were infinite, and the caſes put and debated, were diſtracting to the minds of many; and while ſome ſaid, "It was the cleareſt command "in the goſpel, and the eſſential part of *chriſtianity*," others ſaid, "It was all darkneſs "and confuſion, and the very foundation of *mahometaniſm.*" At length of time, that preſcription that was intended to preſerve the nation, began to have a different operation, and *A Diviſion.*

appear'd too ſtrong for an *Engliſh* conſtitution; therefore it was judg'd proper either to be laid aſide, or to be ſo improv'd and qualify'd in the compoſition, ſo as to be a ſovereign preſervative for a *legal eſtabliſhment*, but no ſupport to a *tyrannical government*.

A Hindrance and Help to the Revolution.

Yet we are further to remember, that it was no ſmall impediment to that revolution of which we are attempting to give an account; and ſuch a one it was, as prov'd inſuperable to many pious and learned men of all profeſſions, who were willing to ſuffer the worſt, rather than recede from any part of a doctrine which they really believ'd to have had its birth from heaven, and its confirmation from the laws of the land. On the contrary, as it was an impediment to keep ſome perſons backwards, it was ſuch an invitation to bring others forwards, as made that great turn more neceſſary and advantagious, than if it had happened at any other juncture of time.

An Account of the firſt Parliament in this Reign.

II. Having mention'd theſe laws which were made by two ſeveral parliaments, it may now be proper to return back, and take ſome notice of other particulars tranſacted by theſe famous aſſemblies. The firſt of theſe were call'd the *convention-parliament*, as not being ſummon'd in the ordinary way, and had met a little above a month before the arrival of the King, in the ſame manner with other parliaments; only without the lords ſpiritual, who had by act of parliament been excluded near twenty years before. To judge rightly of this parliament, we muſt take a ſhort view of their firſt conſtitution, and their temper afterwards.

Their Conſtitution.

For their conſtitution, it is to be remember'd, That upon the reſtoration of the ſecluded members in *February* 16$\frac{59}{60}$. the *rump-parliament* was ſo far

far increas'd as to make way for a *free-parliament*; the grand thing expected, or hop'd for in the nation. This improv'd parliament, tho' better diſpos'd, ſeem'd not a little apprehenſive of the conſequences of their intended diſſolution; therefore while they continued in power, which was about three weeks, they were extremely careful of two things. Firſt, in their diſpoſal of their commiſſions for the *militia*: They indeed took them out of the hands of mercenary and inferior perſons, and put them into thoſe of the nobility and principal gentry; but ſtill they made this reſtriction, That no perſon ſhould be truſted in that province, who did not *declare* under his hand, "That he did "confeſs and acknowledge, that the war rais'd "by the two houſes of parliament againſt the "late King, was *juſt* and *lawful*, until ſuch "time as force and violence was us'd upon the "parliament in the year 1648." The ſecond was in the ſummoning of this *convention-parliament*, they made this the principal qualification, "That all and every perſon and perſons, who "have adviſed, aided, abetted or aſſiſted in any "war againſt the parliament, ſince the firſt of "*January* 1641; he, they, or their ſons ſhall "be incapable to be *elected* to ſerve as members "of the next parliament, unleſs he or they have "ſince manifeſted their good affections to the "parliament." Accordingly this new aſſembly, among variety of parties, had many of the King's old enemies, and two or three of the regicides themſelves, as ſitting members.

As to their temper, that appears from their debates and endeavours to bring the King to articles and limitations before his return, and particularly from one inſtance not commonly known or publiſh'd. Upon a debate ariſing about the diſtinction that ought to be made between different *Their Temper.*

ferent ſort of criminals, one Mr. *Lenthall* freely ſaid, *That he that firſt drew his ſword againſt the late King, committed as great an offence, as he that cut off his head.* For which he was order'd a ſharp reprimand at the bar of the houſe, with an intimation, "That this was a time of mercy, "otherwiſe he muſt have met with a more ſe- "vere treatment.

2. Notwithſtanding this conſtitution and temper, as ſoon as the light began to blaze from the *eaſt*, their eyes were ſo open'd (or as ſome ſay dazled) and their hearts ſo inlarg'd, that never any body of people could teſtify more affection and loyalty to a crown'd head, than they did, as it were, in an inſtant. Accordingly, their firſt great ſtep, as ſoon as they were declar'd a PARLIAMENT, was to throw themſelves upon the King's mercy, in the name of *all the commons in England*, as conceiving themſelves, "Not freed from the guilt and pu- "niſhment, which the unhappy times had con- "tracted.

Their healing Proceedings.

They immediately proceeded to heal all the breaches and diſtractions of the nation; and never any parliament did haſten with greater unanimity and progreſs, nor clear'd ſo many difficulties in ſo ſhort a time, and if in any thing they protracted time, it was in conſidering how to ſignalize their loyalty to their prince, by making more publick examples of his inveterate enemies, than he himſelf, and his miniſtry, were willing to allow. However, they took the firſt opportunity to expreſs their zeal for the prerogative, in the *act of attainder*, and to diſplay the powers of the Kings of *England*, in the above recited *declaration* firſt mention'd. Beſides, with great diſpatch they went through three grand things; namely, the famous *act of indemnity*, which

which reliev'd the minds of thouſands in the nation; the *diſbanding of the army*, which had been long formidable to a free people; and the ample *ſettlement of the King's revenue*, the deficiency of which, according to the ſenſe of the houſe, had been the "prime cauſe of all the "late troubles." Moreover they took care to confirm *judicial proceedings*, and *marriages*, &c. without which would ariſe great confuſion; to buy off the *court of wards*, which became a ſettled grievance to the nation; and likewiſe to do ſome things to ſhow the honour, as well as the juſtice of the reſtoration.

In ſum, the tide was then ſo univerſal and over-bearing, that it is a kind of a miracle that the liberties of the nation ſhould ſtand ſo firmly againſt it, and ſuffer ſo little from it. Therefore it cannot be deny'd, but the King was good-natur'd, and his miniſtry generous and faithful in refuſing ſome private offers and projects, which muſt have made the old conſtitution of *England* very weak and precarious, if not at the mercy of the crown. However, his majeſty ſeem'd exceedingly pleas'd with their publick proceedings, and with what they had done for the honour and future ſecurity; ſo that upon their finiſhing their ſeveral bills, at his parting with them he could do no leſs than give them the laſting title of the HEALING and BLESSED PARLIAMENT; and appear'd ſo much in love with thoſe *aſſemblies*, which in the late reign had been too much diſcontinu'd, that he declar'd to them, "That he "wou'd propoſe no other rule to his actions "and counſels than this, *What is a parliament "like to think of this* action, *and this* counſel? "*and it ſhou'd be want of underſtanding in him, "if it wou'd not bear that teſt.*

Their Title.

III. The

An Account of the Second and long Parliament.

III. The ſecond parliament in this reign, which began in 1661, was the firſt that was regularly choſen according to the ancient conſtitution; and this continu'd for above ſeventeen years without any interruption, beſides ordinary prorogations. This famous aſſembly, ſo much cenſur'd and applauded, was undoubtedly elected with as great deliberation and ſedateneſs, as was conſiſtent with ſo warm a ſeaſon. The King had, contrary to cuſtom, publiſh'd the very day he intended the parliament ſhou'd meet, a conſiderable time before the *writs* were ſeal'd, "That, as he declar'd, the country might not "be ſurpriz'd in their *elections*; but that they "might ſend up ſuch a *repreſentative* to him, as "might give a clear view and proſpect of the "affections and deſires of his people.

Their Conſtitution.

Agreeable to this *declaration*, we find that the houſe of commons conſiſted of the moſt eminent perſons for birth, eſtates, knowledge and experience, that were to be met with in the King's dominions: So that the lord chancellor obſerv'd in his ſpeech to both houſes, "That "the commons of *England* were never *more exactly repreſented* than they were in the preſent "knights, citizens and Burgeſſes, then aſſembled." Tho' at the ſame time, neither the Biſhops or inferior clergy had any votes to influence in church affairs; nor were the corporations then reſtrain'd by thoſe teſts and obligations under which they labour'd in a ſhort time after.—Yet ſtill, by length of time, by changes upon deaths, by the ſuſpicions of the people, their fondneſs for new elections, and variety of accidents, this noble aſſembly was afterward thought to fail and degenerate, ſo as to obtain the opprobrious name of, *The penſionary-parliament*. But how juſtly will be remember'd afterwards.

The

The firſt ſeſſion was divided into two diſtinct meetings, differing in conſtitution. This was the moſt remarkable for ſettling the peace and quiet of the nation with reſpect to the late diſtractions. Both houſes ſeem'd to follow the ſteps of the laſt *healing* parliament; and for fear that the validity of their proceedings might be call'd in queſtion, for want of *form* in the elections, they readily proceeded to confirm all the publick acts of that aſſembly. But firſt they took care of the King's perſon, and enacted, That *writings* and *words*, ſhou'd, as well as *actions*, be accounted treaſon; and likewiſe made it highly penal for any perſon to ſay the King was an *heretick*, or a *papiſt*, &c. and moreover they damn'd the *ſolemn league* and *covenant*, all the *parliamentary ordinances* in the late times, and all opinion of any *legiſlature* in either or both houſes, without the King. And becauſe tumultuous addreſſes had been of vaſt miſchief to the crown, by another act, the addreſſors were confin'd to certain limitations, and the bearers of them to a number not dangerous to the publick. They further proceeded to the confiſcation of the eſtates of twenty one regicides deceas'd, that had eſcap'd in the *act of indemnity*; and as the *militia* of the kingdom had been the great cauſe of contention in the late reign, by a particular act, they declar'd it to be *ſolely* and *wholly* in the Kings of *England*, as it always ought to have been. Beſides, by one act they did not only reſtore all the biſhops to their ſeats in parliament and *temporal juriſdiction*; but alſo by another act they aſcertain'd their *ancient* and *ordinary juriſdiction*, and *power of coertion in cauſes eccleſiaſtical*, which was by many look'd upon not only to have been infring'd, but annull'd by the act for taking away the *high-commiſſion court* in the late reign.

Their Settlement of the Government.

Thus

The Biſhops reſtor'd.

Thus much was tranſacted and effected without any biſhops or clergy. At the ſecond meeting of the firſt ſeſſion, about a year and a half after the reſtoration, the biſhops took their ancient places, ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the King, that he ſaid he met the houſes on purpoſe, and thus began his ſpeech, "I know the "viſit I make you this day is not neceſſary, is "out of courſe; yet if there were no more in "it, it wou'd not be ſtrange that I come to "ſee what you and I ſo long deſir'd to ſee, "*The lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the com-*"*mons of* England *met together to conſult for the* "*peace and ſafety of the church and ſtate*; by "which, parliaments are reſtored to their pri-"mitive luſtre and integrity. I do heartily con-"gratulate with you for *this day*." And now the *three eſtates of the realm* proceeded with new vigour, and in no long time made as full and complete eſtabliſhment as cou'd be well expected. They perfected the *militia* act, and went through the *corporation* and *uniformity* acts, with the ſeveral *oaths* and *declarations* we have had occaſion to mention, and put an end to this remarkable ſeſſion, to the open ſatisfaction of the King and court, and the plain majority of the nation.

A complete Eſtabliſhment.

Thus in the compaſs of two years was perfected the greateſt eſtabliſhment and pacification that was practicable in a kingdom, where ſuch variety and infinity of ſects, opinions and conteſts, had been predominant for a much longer time. And this was brought about by ways and methods, which when compared with other ſeaſons may poſſibly ſeem ſtrange and diſagreeable; but when adapted to times of weakneſs and neceſſity, they appear wiſe and judicious beyond diſpute. All was effected by a ſweet-temper'd King, an active and penetrating miniſtry, and a firm and vigorous parliament. But

But when that glorious miniſtry came to be weakned by the departure of the duke of *Ormond* into *Ireland*, the declenſion of the intereſt and authority of chancellor *Hyde*, the ſuperannuation of treaſurer *Southampton*, and the removal of ſecretary *Nicholas*, the court gradually became more uncertain and variable, and more artful and deſigning. Yet ſtill the parliament ſeem'd to have kept up their uſual ſteddineſs and regularity, and to have ſhown no great variations, but what proceeded from the mutations and exigencies of the times and ſeaſons.

The Parliament's proceedings,

2. To proceed to ſay ſomething of the remainder of the long parliament, which conſiſted of fifteen years ſpace, and ſixteen diſtinct ſeſſions. We ſhall only glance at ſome of their actions and motions, and chiefly thoſe for which they have been moſt blam'd and cenſur'd by latter writers; namely, their *ſeverity againſt all diſſenters*, and their *mercenary proceedings* with which they ſtand charg'd.

Againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters.

Their proceedings againſt *proteſtant diſſenters*, except a few addreſſes, may all be compriz'd in three acts of parliament: The firſt in the year 1664, againſt *ſeditious conventicles*; the ſecond in the year 1665, call'd the *five mile act*; and the laſt in the year 1670, in title the ſame with the firſt; without naming the *act of uniformity*, which no parliament ever attempted to abrogate. The firſt of theſe was temporary; the ſecond was chiefly levell'd at *ſeditious preachers*, and the third was ſoon relax'd in the execution. However, by vertue of theſe acts, the diſſenters did at certain times meet with very hard and unchriſtian uſage; and ſuch, as in times of leſs appearance of danger, wou'd have been ſtill more inexcuſable.

There-

The Cauſes.

Therefore it is to be always remember'd, that whatever ſeverities they felt from the laws, aroſe more from the reſtleſs practices of ſome of them, than the religious exerciſes of any of them; and that every act made to their prejudice was founded upon the reality, or the ſtrong belief of ſome plot or conſpiracy againſt the peace of the nation, which they had either form'd or promoted. So that what the parliament enacted or deſign'd in the former part of this reign was chiefly upon the *defenſive*; and was then look'd upon more like *ſelf-preſervation*, than any intended *perſecution*. In ſum, they were fram'd more upon civil and political, than any ſpiritual or religious account. It is further remarkable, that all theſe paſs'd contrary to the deſires and inclinations of the King, who out of temper or principle, was clearly for *indulgence* and *toleration*; and accordingly, within leſs than two years after the late act paſs'd, he made a bold ſtep, and contrary to the ſtanding laws gave them full liberty. And tho' in the next ſeſſion of parliament, both houſes declared againſt this *indulgence*, as granted by an illegal power, yet, when their fears from one quarter began to be ſtifled by their apprehenſions from another, they readily brought in a bill for the *eaſe of all proteſtant diſſenters*; which went through the houſe of commons, and was only hinder'd in the upper houſe by the ſuddenneſs of the prorogation. This bill was a ſort of a foundation and model of that *toleration* or *exemption* that paſs'd in the firſt year of King *William* and Queen *Mary*: And had it not been for ſome accidents and provocations towards the latter end of King *Charles*'s reign, which blew up old fires, all theſe ſtinging acts had probably ſunk with their own weight, and been laid aſleep.

It

It is further to be obſerv'd, That in paſſing the act againſt *proteſtant* diſſenters, they did not intend partiality to one ſort, or any ways to promote the intereſt of thoſe that were *popiſh*; for they were no leſs vigilant and vigorous with reſpect to the *romaniſts*, againſt whom ſeveral preceding laws, no leſs terrible, were in force. In the year 1663, they made two ſeveral formal addreſſes to the King againſt them. In the year 1666, they preſented a third. In 1668, they deliver'd a fourth, as likewiſe a particular addreſs of *thanks* for diſmiſſing *papiſts* from his majeſty's guards. In the year 1670, ſoon after they had made the laſt act againſt *conventicles*, they drew up a fifth addreſs, more large and ſolemn than any before, laying open *The cauſes of the growth of popery*, as well as the *Remedies againſt the miſchiefs*. In the year 167$\frac{1}{3}$. when the indications began to be more apparent, immediately after they had ſhown the firſt mention'd tenderneſs to *proteſtant* diſſenters, they not only preſented their ſixth addreſs, but paſs'd the famous *teſt* act, by which the duke of *York*, and ſeveral great men were thrown out of all places. *Their Proceedings againſt* Papiſts.

This was a great point obtain'd amidſt violent oppoſition, and was accompany'd with other mortifying bills, that did not paſs, particularly one *To prevent intermarriages between* proteſtants *and* papiſts. The *teſt* act happen'd to reach other ſorts of diſſenters, tho' it was not primarily, if at all, ſo deſign'd: For the preſent parliament gave them no farther trouble, or cauſe of fear, but upon every occaſion proceeded againſt the papiſts. Accordingly in the next ſeſſion after the *teſt* act, they warmly petition'd againſt the duke of *York*'s intended marriage with a papiſt, and likewiſe brought in a bill for a more *general teſt*. Both indeed prov'd abortive; the firſt by a pre-contract, and the ſecond by a *The Teſt-Act.*

ſudden prorogation; the uſual help to relieve many difficulties in thoſe times.

In the next ſeſſion, 167¾, they preſented a ſeventh addreſs againſt popery, and re-aſſum'd the new *teſt* act; but cou'd not get thorough with the work, for want of time, and not of unanimity. However, they ſo far ſhew'd their inclinations, that now *papiſts*, as much, or perhaps more, than other *diſſenters*, began to wiſh and wait for the diſſolution of this terrible parliament. Still the houſe of commons teſtify'd their reſolutions againſt the former, and in the next ſeſſion, in 1675, they drew up a new bill againſt the *growth of popery*; and to prevent the deſigns of the court, which was ſuſpected to favour that party, they began to lay their hands upon the King's revenue, and to contrive to appropriate the ancient *tunnage* and *poundage*, four hundred thouſand pounds a year, to the ſole uſe of the navy. Tho' this did not take place, yet in the ſame year, at another ſeſſion, they projected freſh deſigns againſt the *papiſts*, and thoſe thought to be *penſioners*; and likewiſe ſhew'd further moderation to other *diſſenters*. And in the year 1677, their apprehenſions of popery ſo far increas'd, and glar'd in their eyes, that by a particular act they finally aboliſh'd that dreadful writ *de hæretico comburendo*; which has been often ſaid, *To have kept many perſons from ſleeping, while that was awake.*

The Repealing Act.

And while the grounds of theſe fears were inlarging, and ſhowing themſelves from *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, as well as at home, how eaſy it is to imagine what belief any reports wou'd raiſe, and what impreſſions any villany wou'd make upon a loyal parliament, which was highly jealous of the honour of their maſter, and no leſs fond of the ſafety of his perſon. Thus in the year 1678, and the eighteenth ſeſſion,

ſion, upon the firſt rumour of the *popiſh plot*, and diſcovery of *Coleman*'s letters, the parliament took fire, and ſhew'd their horror and reſentment againſt a party of men, who for a long time had given them too much cauſe to believe any thing that cou'd be laid to their charge. Their zeal for the publick was ſo great, that they not only caus'd ſeveral ſharp proclamations againſt them, but form'd the firſt deſign of the excluſion of the duke of *York*; and to crown all, they paſs'd that notable act for *diſabling papiſts from ever ſitting in either houſe of parliament*. *The Diſabling Act.*

Theſe proceedings, with ſome conſequential matters, their diſcoveries of the King's correſpondence with *France*, and their backwardneſs in granting ſupplies, which the King eagerly deſir'd, at length made his majeſty ſo exceedingly uneaſy, that he ſuddenly prorogu'd, and ſoon after diſſolv'd this famous and faithful parliament, to the mighty ſurprize of the whole kingdom. *Their Diſſolution.*

3. From theſe ſeveral acts we may make ſome tolerable judgment as to the *mercenary proceedings* with which they ſtand charg'd, and of their obtaining the name of the *penſionary parliament:* A name much more eaſy to conceive and invent, than to prove and make good; eſpecially if the members are to be determin'd by their outward deeds. They had indeed been ſo vigorous againſt two oppoſite parties, that ſeem'd to threaten the peace of the nation, that it is no wonder, of each of them, in their turns, ſhou'd be ſo ready to charge them with bribery and corruption. But the knowledge, as well as the opinions of ſir *William Temple* and the late duke of *Leeds*, are more to be regarded than a multitude of private conjectures. The former *Their ſuppos'd mercenary Proceedings.*

indeed acknowledges, That endeavours to buy off perſons had been us'd the laſt ſix years of their ſitting; and this cuſtom he ſays was introduc'd by the lord treaſurer *Clifford*, after they had continu'd near twelve years without any marks of temptation or expectation. We have a liſt of ſmall *penſions*, all not amounting to ten thouſand pounds a year; and ſeveral of thoſe were given to poor cavaliers, more for paſt ſervices and charity, than future views and deſigns. Still ſir *William* obſerves, that whatever was done, was never ſufficient to obtain a majority; and in thoſe times there were many noble inſtances of men rejecting the largeſt offers without the leaſt heſitation. The duke of *Leeds*, who knew as much as any man, does not only quit this from being a *penſionary-parliament*, but likewiſe gives ſuch convincing reaſons for it as ſeem unanſwerable.

Their general Behaviour.

However, this is always to be remember'd, That during the time they were under the leaſt temptations of bribery, they were moſt loyal and complying with the court; but when they lay under the greateſt, they were moſt oppoſing and contradictory. In the former time they were ready to give the King money by millions, and authority by wholeſale; in the latter they wou'd ſcarce give it by thouſands, or allow the authority they had eſtabliſh'd. And it is further obſervable, That as what they acted in the beginning was without the influence of the court, ſo the two things that rais'd the greateſt complaints, the laws againſt *diſſenters*, and thoſe againſt *reſiſtance*, were all effected according to their own inclination. The former were then againſt the King's private will and deſires; and the latter not over agreeable to the minds of the three great miniſters, *Clarendon*, *Ormond* and *Southampton*, who were ever ready to check the forward-

forwardneſs of ſome who were deſirous to overload the crown with prerogative and revenue.

In ſum, they acted both with vigour and conſideration, and made as wiſe and as good laws as any of their predeceſſors, particularly the act *for ſettling inteſtate eſtates*, and that *againſt frauds and perjuries:* And further, they diſabled the great enemies to the government, the *papiſts*, and laid the foundation of that noble law for the privileges of the nation, call'd the *habeas corpus* act. As they cannot be vindicated in every particular, ſo perhaps they cannot be excus'd of too much credulity, a diſtemper very incident to great bodies of men, and this time productive of great inconveniencies both to the crown and the people. But ſtill if the King had ſhown as much ſteddineſs in his government at home, and as much zeal for his honour abroad, as they generally did, they need not have parted ſo abruptly, but might have continu'd on to the general good of the nation, and perhaps without giving new pain to any party. Thus much ſeems proper to ſay of a famous parliament, that is ſo little known to ſeveral modern writers. *And Character.*

IV. During the continuance of this long parliament, ſome things concern'd the publick, which ought not to be omitted in this ſhort review; particularly two great wars, both againſt the ſtates of *Holland*, and other confederates. The firſt began leſs than five years after the reſtoration; and contrary to the vulgar opinion of late years, was promoted not only by the city of *London* and trading part of the nation, but by both houſes of parliament, who readily advanc'd ſuch ſums in the compaſs of a year as had never been known in any *Engliſh* parliament before. The King himſelf, as well *The Firſt* Dutch *War.*

as two of his miniſters, *Clarendon* and *Southampton*, ſeem'd a little cool in this great affair; but the belief of the *Dutch* incroachments ſo prevail'd, that the deſign was carry'd on with fervour and reſentment from all quarters; and yet the war began with precipitation in reſpect to foreign alliances. The ſtates of *Holland* were publickly ſupported by the *French* King, and were then ſo much in favour, or in league with that growing monarch, that juſt before they had been entering into private projects of dividing the *Spaniſh Netherlands* between him and them. The open conjunction became ſo apparent, that the King of *England* in a ſhort time was forc'd to declare a war againſt *France*, as well as *Holland*. The ſucceſs of this war was variable; honourable to the *Engliſh* in the beginning, but diſhonourable before the concluſion of a treaty, which was haſtned by the ſudden invaſion of *Flanders* by the power of *France*, and a peace effected within a little above two years after the beginning of the war, but with little advantage, or publick compenſation to the *Engliſh* nation.

In the midſt of this threatning war, two more dreadful calimities befel this kingdom, a raging plague in the nation, and a devouring fire in *London*; both greater than ever had been heard of in *England*. Theſe three, tho' ſo very near each other, were born with as much courage, and, as ſome ſay, with as little humiliation, as cou'd be imagin'd; and the peace in a ſhort time gave breath to the nation, and rectify'd all appearing misfortunes. This peace was gladly embrac'd by the *Engliſh* nation, and eſpecially when they ſaw the ſwift progreſs of the *French* in *Flanders*, and the manifeſt diſproportion between the monarchies of *France* and *Spain*; the flowings of one, and the ebbings of the other.

With the Conſequences.

ther. By means of this proſpect, a further happineſs and ſettlement was produc'd, namely, a new alliance againſt the powers of *France*, between *England*, *Sweden*, and *Holland*, commonly call'd by the name of *the triple alliance*. This has been reckon'd a maſter-piece in the management, and, for the continuance, both the ſtrength and glory of this reign. So that for a few years, pleaſures, diverſions, enjoyments, *&c.* began to flow, and ſeem'd with a delightful current to ſmooth and mollify the different humours of the people.

The Second Dutch War.

2. This happineſs was in no long time interrupted or diverted by the diſſolution of the *triple league*, and an unexpected breaking out of a ſecond war; a war quite different from the firſt, both in its cauſes and conſequences. The former was open, and proceeded from the unanimous deſire of parliament, city and country; the latter was privately projected by a *cabal* miniſtry, without the knowledge, and contrary to the inclination, of all of them. The one was deſign'd to procure ſatisfaction from an incroaching unyielding people; the other was form'd by the deſtruction of their commonwealth, as was own'd by the chancellor not long after. The firſt was begun with vaſt ſums given by the parliament; the ſecond with foreign aſſiſtance, and a ſort of felonious detention of other men's money. The former was carry'd on againſt the will and progreſs of *France*, and the latter in conjunction with that over-growing power. In ſhort, this was ſo diſagreeable to the parliament, that they wou'd grant no money under the denomination of *carrying on the war*, which they thought wou'd give too great a countenance to it; but being unwilling to deſert their maſter in extremity, after he had ſupported it a year by himſelf,

ſelf, they were content to advance a handſom ſum, *to ſupply*, as they term'd it, *his majeſty's extraordinary occaſions.*

The Succeſs of it. The ſucceſs of this war was not very unequal with reſpect to the *Engliſh* alone; four battles were fought at ſea without any real victories. But if their ſucceſſes had born any proportion to thoſe of the *French*, the conſequences muſt have been prodigious, the republick of the *united provinces* deſtroy'd, the ballance of *Europe* quite broken, the naval power of *England* precarious, and the *proteſtant religion*, or the *northern* hereſy, in the moſt imminent danger. The eſcape in *Holland* was ſo extraordinary, that the *Dutch* have often acknowledg'd it as no leſs than miraculous; and the rapid courſe and victories of the *French* made ſuch a terrible impreſſion upon the *Engliſh* parliament and people, that they ſoon brought on a treaty with *Holland*, and a peace was concluded within leſs than two years after the beginning of the war, *February* 28. $167\frac{1}{4}$.

The Power of France. At this time the power of *France* began to ſhow it ſelf in a more formidable manner than ever, and alarm'd many parts of *Europe*, as well as the kingdom of *England*. This gave riſe to many confederacies and attempts to throw up banks and boundaries againſt this over-bearing torrent; which cou'd not have ſwell'd to that height, without firſt the concurrence, and afterwards the connivance of the neighbouring monarch. Upon which occaſion a noted foreigner gave this ſhort character of the two Kings of *France* and *England*, "That, tho' both "had abondon'd themſelves to their pleaſures; "yet the former cou'd abandon his pleaſures "for his glory, which the latter cou'd not.

The

The *Engliſh* parliament ſeem'd ſenſible of this, or the like character; and for the laſt four years of their continuance were often encouraging and exciting their maſter to declare a war againſt *France*. The King generally ſeem'd, and ſometimes declar'd himſelf fearful that he ſhou'd not be ſufficiently ſupported by a parliament who began to ſuſpect his foreign correſpondence; yet ſometimes he wou'd, together with his brother, ſhew his reſentment, and once was rous'd ſo far as to ſhow himſelf openly, and to raiſe a noble army, and ſend part of it into *Flanders*. But ſtill the uncertainties of the court of *England*, and other accidents, forc'd on the treaty and peace of *Nimiguen*, which for a while laid *England*, and a great part of *Europe*, aſleep.

A Peace concluded.

But this peace, crudely made in the year 1678, prov'd like a hot burning fire, artfully kept under, and ſtifled for a time, but not extinguiſh'd; ſo that in the ſpace of ten years, after many indications, it broke out with a greater blaze and fury than ever: The fewel that ſeem'd to cover it, moſt contributed to the flame. So that they who wou'd enquire into the foundation and cauſes, the riſe and neceſſity of that complicated war that openly appear'd in 1688, muſt look back to theſe times, eſpecially the years 1677 and 1678, where they will find the real beginning of the whole; and that the latter eruption was only an old war reviv'd, an accidental return of an ancient diſtemper, which was daily gathering ſtrength in the intermiſſion; watch'd indeed by men of fears and foreſight, but little minded by thoſe moſt able to prevent it.

The beginning of the Confederacy againſt France,

So that the *revolution*, the main ſubject of this work, ſeems not ſo much to be the cauſe, as the conſequence of the above-nam'd great confederacy and war againſt *France*, or rather an in-

Which promoted the Revolution.

incident intermix'd with it. If the former part of that war had been well ſupported at the concluſion in 1678, or had begun ſooner a ſecond time, ſurely the whole muſt have had a much better aſpect to the confederates afterwards. In a word, the vaſt expence of blood and treaſure that follow'd after, is not to be immediately charg'd upon the revolution, but more truly upon the neceſſity of ſetting bounds to an inundation, that threatned not only *England*, but all the neighbouring nations. The *Engliſh*, who had been reſtrain'd in their minds for ſo many years, as ſoon as they were let looſe, fell in with the utmoſt zeal and eagerneſs; and more, perhaps out of fear and hatred to the *French*, than love and eſteem to their new deliverer. But to return to King *Charles*'s reign.

Great Struggles between Parties.

V. Within the compaſs of eighteen years, *England* had felt the burthen of two expenſive wars, and undergone the miſeries of a dreadful plague, and an unheard-of fire, as above recited; yet in the laſt ſix years of this reign, for ſome part of the time, the nation met with greater apprehenſions and diſturbances than ever; the people were more heated and agitated, and the King more ſtraitned and diſtreſs'd, than ever they had been ſince the reſtoration. After the diſſolution of the long parliament, there were no leſs than three more within the compaſs of two years, the longeſt of which was not of three months continuance. During which ſpace, the belief and horror of the *popiſh plot*, with the dread of a *popiſh ſucceſſor*, intermix'd with unexpected accidents, ſo inflam'd and confounded the nation, that nothing cou'd be tranſacted with coolneſs and temper. Beſides what was prepar'd in the laſt parliament, nothing of moment was finiſh'd in theſe three; and there appear'd

pear'd very little beſides a furious ſtruggle between the court and the country party, which not only rais'd new diviſions and denominations, but at length endanger'd the very liberties of the nation.

An Account of the Third Parliament.

At the opening of the firſt of theſe three parliaments, the King earneſtly recommended unity to both houſes, and told them, "That "he had done many great things already in order to that end, as the *excluſion* of the *popiſh* "lords from their ſeats in parliament; the execution of ſeveral men, both upon the ſcore "of the *plot*, and the murder of ſir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*; his disbanding ſo much of the "army as he cou'd get money to do, and his "readineſs to disband the reſt, upon their enabling him to do it; and above all, his commanding his brother to abſent himſelf from "him, becauſe he wou'd not leave malicious "men room to ſay, *He had not remov'd all cauſes "which cou'd be pretended to influence him towards* "popiſh *counſels.*" In concluſion, "he earneſtly deſir'd to have this a *healing parliament*, "and promis'd, That he wou'd with his life "defend both the *proteſtant religion* and the *laws "of the kingdom.*" The lord chancellor proceeded in the ſame ſtrain; and after an enumeration of the proceedings againſt the *papiſts*, he adds, "So univerſal is that deſpair to which they "are now reduc'd, that they have no hope left "but this, *That we may chance to overdo our own "buſineſs*; and by being too far tranſported "with the *fears of popery*, neglect the opportunities we now have of making *ſober* and "*laſting proviſions* againſt it.

All theſe ſoftning words cou'd make little impreſſion upon the majority, nor wou'd they cover any part of that ſcene of horror, that had been open'd not many months before. Thereupon

upon the King, in great diſtreſs and perplexity, fell upon a hopeful project of forming a new council of thirty men, the greateſt part able, agreeable, and unexceptionable to the parliament. But tho' theſe men were ready and proper for the purpoſe, yet the King unfortunately choſe one to be their preſident; by vertue of which place he did him greater diſſervice both in the council and parliament than he cou'd, if he had at firſt branded him with his higheſt diſpleaſure. So that nothing wou'd content him and his followers, but a total *excluſion* and *baniſhment* of the duke of *York*. Accordingly a bill was prepar'd, and brought to a great forwardneſs in a little time.

A new Council.

Expedients offer'd and refus'd.

To obviate this approaching difficulty, the King by the mouth of his chancellor in a ſolemn ſpeech to both houſes, offer'd certain *expedients*, and *limitations*, in caſe of a *popiſh ſucceſſor*, ſo home and condeſcending, that few *Engliſh* monarchs wou'd ever have endured. Moreover he offer'd any further *ſecurities* they ſhou'd name for *religion* and *liberty*, conſiſtent with the right of *ſucceſſion*. But theſe, joyn'd with never ſo many promiſes, wou'd have no effect; the commons were ſo ſpirited up, that they wou'd accept of no *equivalent*, tho' they hazarded the loſs of all other benefits. Therefore it has been often wonder'd at that theſe coming from the King himſelf, and an unſuſpected council, beyond the influence of the abſent duke, who dreaded them more than the *excluſion*, ſhou'd meet with ſo cold a reception in parliament, when they wou'd have been thankfully received in any other place.

Reflections upon it.

The duke had reaſon to dread theſe *limitations* more than the *excluſion*; ſince the former muſt in time have taken place, but the latter he was almoſt ſure wou'd not paſs; and if it did,

did, he might eaſily hope to cut that knot aſunder with the ſword, eſpecially ſince he then had all *Scotland* and *Ireland* ſufficiently at his devotion, and great numbers in *England* that wou'd not have ſtood unconcern'd at the baniſhment of a prince once dear to them, and now under no criminal conviction but a ſtrong preſumption. Beſides, his baniſhment might have brought in foreigners to pity and aſſiſt him; but the *limitations* cou'd have had none of theſe miſchiefs, not ſo much as the drawing of a ſingle weapon. But many wiſe men are of opinion that *England* at that juncture had a happy eſcape as to both; and that heaven, which often takes advantage of poor mortals errors, as well as their crimes, ſeem'd to have deſign'd greater things for the nation, without either weakning the monarchy, or the privileges of the people. So that that perverſe man who rais'd thoſe difficulties then not to be ſurmounted, might, in the hand of providence, be the *occaſion* of the greateſt after ſecurity, againſt all the ſpiritual and temporal miſchiefs of *popery*.

2. From the breaking up of this parliament to the meeting of the next, the time was prolong'd to almoſt a year and a half, which tho' deſign'd, prov'd of no advantage to the King. For during that interval, the lord *Shaftsbury* was remov'd from being preſident of the council, and his great friend the duke of *Monmouth* from his place of captain general, and ſent into *Holland*. The former grew more inveterate, and brought in a new diſpute concerning the legitimacy of the latter, and his title to the crown, which much increas'd the former diviſions. The duke of *York*, who came both privately and publickly into *England*, was twice ſent into *Scotland*, and the laſt time juſt before the meeting of the new

An Interval.

new parliament. But before his departure, *Shaftsbury* and above a dozen perſons of quality, publickly preſented him at the *king's-bench* bar as a *popiſh recuſant:* And tho' the bill was dropt and came to nothing, yet it had a ſtrange effect upon the minds of the people, and ſhew'd that the breach was irreparable, and no accommodation to be expected.

The Fourth Parliament.

Accordingly, when this new parliament met, the *excluſion* was re-aſſum'd with greater warmth than ever, and the arguments on both ſides reiterated. The *expedients* and *limitations* were alſo renew'd and improv'd, ſo far that the princeſs of *Orange* and her ſiſter were remember'd; and the King went ſo far as privately to declare himſelf willing to ſubmit to any *limitations*, that ſhou'd not deſtroy the *title* and *ſucceſſion* of a King. The *excluſion* however was carry'd ſo high, that the ſtates of *Holland*, and the prince of *Orange*, were induc'd to give countenance to it, and the King's favourite ladies to ſtand up for it: But when the bill in form was brought into the houſe of peers, it was at once totally rejected by a majority of ſixty three againſt thirty, of the former of which only eleven were biſhops; ſo unweildy and unpracticable was that attempt. This rais'd a new ſtorm in the houſe of commons, which rag'd againſt ſeveral conſiderable men, and quite overthrew the poor old viſcount *Stafford*, againſt whom they appear'd with the utmoſt grandeur and ſolemnity. In concluſion, they were ſo far from giving the King any money, which he wanted, that they did what they cou'd to hinder all other perſons from lending, and declar'd, "That whoſoever "ſhou'd lend any money upon any branch of "the King's revenue, ſhou'd be reſponſible for "the ſame in parliament.

In

In the laſt parliament, which was held at *Oxford*, the ſame heats were carry'd ſo high, and in ſuch a tumultuous manner, that in ſeven days time the King ſuddenly diſſolv'd them, to the great amazement of the nation. *The Fifth.*

Thus *England* was terribly harraſs'd by the zeal of two contending parties. While the belief of the *popiſh plot*, and conſequently the dread of *popery*, was kept warm, the country party, now turn'd to the name of *whigs*, ſeem'd to have much the advantage of the court, or *tory* party. So that the King, for a long time, was driven to uncommon difficulties, which did not only oblige him to ſacrifice the lives of many perſons he believ'd to be innocent, but forc'd him to deſcend to little contrivances and artifices, and even to quack remedies. All which reflected diſhonour upon his government, and brought great hardſhips upon particular perſons. *The King under Difficulties.*

But when men's opinions of the plot began to cool and weaken, the King ſenſibly gather'd ground; and that party which thought themſelves the majority, found that they miſreckon'd in their numbers. And beſides, being headed by a perſon of vaſt and unknown deſigns, who wou'd never ſubmit to a *compoſition* with the court, their crude and precipitate demands, and their unſeaſonable rejecting the voluntary offers of the crown, caus'd them gradually to ſink in their reputation of wiſdom, and to loſe the opportunity of being eſteem'd juſt *protectors* of the liberties of the people. They were indeed perſwaded to paſs the *rubicon*, and to declare war, before they were ſure of their forces. Their endeavours to deſtroy the King's credit, as to borrowing money, rais'd the indignation of ſo many, as ſoon diſcover'd their weakneſs. So that if the induſtry of ſome, and the honeſty of others *He gets Ground.*

gain'd

gain'd them the title of *patriots*, their ſudden and large ſteps loſt them the fame of *politicians*. —Yet this violent plucking at the fruit, when it was unfit to be parted from the tree, gave occaſion and opportunity for others to gather it, when it was in the full maturity.

He takes new Methods.

VI. Upon the diſſolution of the laſt parliament at *Oxford*, it ſoon appear'd, and more plainly than ever, which ſide had the ſtrength and the numbers: And the King, rouz'd with the ſenſe of hard uſage, aſſum'd a courage and reſolution unuſual to himſelf, and ſuch as gave a remarkable turn to the fate of the nation. Of this uſage, far the greateſt part of the nation in a ſhort time became ſo ſenſible, and gave ſuch loud teſtimonies of their reſentments, as cou'd hardly proceed from any thing but reaſon and affection, or deluſion and inchantment. However, he ſeem'd reſolv'd to take new courſes, to leſſen and retrieve his extravagancies, to husband his revenues, and to ſupply his occaſions by other than parliamentary methods. And being tir'd out with the repeated accounts of *plots* and *popery*, and ſatiated, if not infected, with the blood of thoſe he look'd upon as innocent, he grew ſtill more cunning and artful in his proceedings, and more ſanguinary and leſs merciful in his temper; and that good-nature, which occaſion'd him formerly to be call'd the *delight of mankind*, ſeem'd ſenſibly to decreaſe, and a more vindictive and ſuſpicious diſpoſition to come in its room.

The Whig-Party *declines.*

As to the repreſentatives of his people, he began to fear them now, as much as he lov'd them formerly, and to follow the moſt unpopular ways of his grandfather, who look'd upon parliaments to be only the *phyſick*, and not the *food* of the people, and ſeem'd reſolv'd that they

they ſhould not be too much burthen'd with uncommon nouriſhment. He really acted as tho' he deſign'd to have no more of them, unleſs new-model'd, and of another nature; and this in oppoſition to his own act for *triennial parliaments*. And further, he more openly attack'd that lately call'd the *whig-party*, and unluckily play'd their own little engines and inſtruments of blood againſt themſelves, which directly hit and kill'd poor *Colledge*, and narrowly miſs'd their great leader, who after all was driven with diſhonour into perpetual exile.

Still they made many brave ſtands, and ſtruggled hard for liberty and ſuperiority; and they skilfully made uſe of the *plot* and the *fears of popery* for their weapons, and ſecurely ſhielded themſelves under the protection of *charters* and *ignoramus*-juries. But time and frequent uſage began to blunt the edge of their weapons, and counter ſtratagems from the court ſoon remov'd their ſecurity, and forc'd them from their holds. By theſe they were driven to ſuch a height of fear or deſpair, as oblig'd their leader, who had boaſted, *That he could leiſurely walk the King out of his dominions*, to fly for ſhelter to thoſe very *ſtates* to which he had formerly endeavour'd to exterminate. But before his departure, he involv'd many of his companions into ſtrange difficulties, and caus'd ſome of them to enter into ſuch extraordinary meaſures, as prov'd fatal to the whole party.

And is defeated.

2. The ſudden diſcovery of theſe proceedings, which fell in with a conſpiracy againſt the King's perſon, rais'd the greateſt indignation in the contrary party, and caus'd no leſs ſeverities from the court. And it was not to be expected, That the King, who never wou'd ſpare one perſon in the *popiſh plot*, when he thought them

innocent, ſhou'd ſhow any mercy to thoſe in this, call'd the *Rye-houſe plot*, when he was willing to believe them guilty. Accordingly, we here meet with great ſurprizing relations. All the hardſhips, that had been practis'd in the tryals of the *popiſh* conſpirators, the prieſts and jeſuits, and of theſe leſs ſignificant men, *Green*, *Berry* and *Hill*, were now turn'd upon the contrary heads with full vengeance. And thoſe very laws which were thought to have been ſtretch'd and tortur'd to deſtroy the weak lord *Stafford*, were now in the ſame manner us'd and forc'd to the ruin of *Ruſſel*, *Sidney* and *Corniſh*.

The Conſequences of it.

How guilty or innocent ſoever theſe new ſufferers were, their principles, as well as actions, appear'd ſo contrary to thoſe acts of parliament formerly recited, that they occaſion'd the opinions of *paſſive-obedience* and *non-reſiſtance* to be reviv'd, and carry'd to the utmoſt height by perſons of all profeſſions; who now alledg'd, "That this conſpiracy had decided the argu-"ment, and ſhown the abſolute *neceſſity* of thoſe "doctrines." Accordingly, the univerſity of *Oxford* drew up a ſolemn decree againſt *reſiſting principles*, and the uſual conſequences of them. Moreover, the laws againſt *diſſenters*, which the laſt year had been ſomewhat unchain'd, were now let perfectly looſe, to the deſtruction of many families, and the downfal of the party that protected them. So that the former attempts againſt the duke of *York*, now turn'd to his greateſt advantage, and caus'd him to be more careſs'd and courted than he had been for many years. And in effect, both the King and his brother gain'd a total conqueſt, and for a year and an half kept poſſeſſion of the field; ſo that they ſeem'd to have nothing to do with reſpect to their enemies, but to purſue, take and

and puniſh as they found occaſion or inclination.

And in theſe proceedings they neither appear'd idle, nor indolent; for the reſt of the reign conſiſted chiefly of proſecutions, puniſhments and penalties, fines and damages, demands of charters, and new-modelling, or rather corruping of corporations. Theſe, by the King's friends, were accounted acts of *neceſſity*, or at leaſt of *expediency*, in theſe times. However, the invaſion of the rights of the people became in effect general, and mov'd forwards with ſuch ſoft and regular ſteps, and with ſo little noiſe and obſtruction, that the nation was ſcarce ever in ſuch imminent danger, or leſs ſenſible of it. The reviv'd memory of the late confuſions, and the belief of the new conſpiracy, had prepar'd the people for any degrees of obedience, and made them almoſt inſenſible of any chains that cou'd be put upon them. And what may ſeem wonderful, the King himſelf, notwithſtanding the late ſeverities, not only gain'd more authority and reverence, but more love and affection, than he found for ſeveral years before; and he had this peculiar advantage, that whatever appear'd harſh, was more charg'd upon the duke than himſelf. So that if his inclinations were really ſuch, he had the faireſt opportunity of complimenting the people out of their ancient liberties, without the aſſiſtance of his brother, whoſe future fate he more than once declar'd to thoſe who were intimate with him. His age and health, his improving revenues, and the yielding temper of the nation, were ſufficient incouragements to him to make larger ſteps; however, he manag'd all with ſo much care, as to ſecure himſelf *from travelling a ſecond time*, as he himſelf us'd to ſay.

The King's Satisfaction.

The ſubmiſſion on one ſide appear'd as general as the invaſion on the other; for which the King expreſs'd his great ſatisfaction, in his large *declaration*, drawn up by biſhop *Sprat*. Among ſeveral particulars, this paſſage is to be remember'd, "His majeſty cannot here forbear "to let the world know, what entire ſatisfa- "ction he has taken in one ſpecial teſtimony "of his ſubjects affection; whence, through "God's gracious providence, the *monarchy* has "gain'd a moſt conſiderable advantage: And it "is, That ſo great a number of the cities and "corporations of this Kingdom, have ſo freely "reſign'd their *local immunities* and *charters* in- "to his majeſty's hands; leſt the abuſe of any "of them ſhou'd again hereafter prove hazar- "dous to the *juſt prerogatives* of the crown. "This his majeſty declares he eſteems the *pecu- "liar honour* of his reign; being ſuch, as none "of the moſt popular of all his late predeceſſors "cou'd have promis'd to themſelves, or hop'd "for." Upon which he makes extraordinary promiſes of benignity, moderation, *&c.*

This declaration, juſt ready for the preſs when the King dy'd, in ſeveral places ſhows his majeſty to be ſo perfectly at eaſe at that time, that we ought to have greater evidence than has hitherto appear'd, that he was then projecting a new change of affairs; which perhaps the uncommonneſs of his death, rather than ſubſtantial proofs, has led many into that conjecture.

His Death.

We cannot pronounce any thing with certainty; only that he ſeem'd to have been ſuddenly ſnatch'd away, tho' fifty four years of age, to the great ſurprize of all, and inexpreſſible ſorrow of far the greateſt part of his ſubjects, who then did not ſee thoſe failings and miſmanagements which others have at a diſtance ſince diſcover'd. He dy'd, as ſome expreſs it, with

faction

faction at his feet; or as others ſay, with the *liberties* of *England* at his mercy.

To ſay ſomething by way of character, his faults and errors were both perſonal and national. The former were then too pleaſing and captivating to be rigidly examin'd; and are now no more to be remember'd than as they unhappily ſerv'd to enervate and debauch a well-meaning and good-natur'd people, whoſe principles had been too much looſen'd, and disjointed by the late times of confuſion. The latter did in a great meaſure depend upon the former, and have been hinted at already. However, we are juſt to take notice that after he had loſt his firſt great miniſtry, he fell by degrees into dangerous expedients: His proceedings with the *cabal* were inexcuſable, both with reſpect to the *Engliſh* conſtitution, and the ballance of foreign power; and his extravagancies made him a diſhonourable penſioner to a neighbouring monarch, who by that means eclips'd his otherwiſe prevailing brightneſs. Whether from indolence and neceſſity, or want of a right underſtanding between him and his loyal parliament, he certainly loſt ſeveral opportunities of glory to himſelf, and greatneſs to his kingdom, which made way for the aſpiring deſigns of the *French* King, who wou'd not have appear'd, or cou'd not have ſucceeded in the world, without the application and arts employ'd to manage his eaſy and inglorious temper; the laſting effects of which are ſtill too ſenſible to be forgotten. The reign in general was attended with ſuch mixtures of counſels, and ſuch viciſſitudes of good and bad events, that the whole has been ingeniouſly compar'd to the four ſeaſons of the year, in which three quarters are generally fair, hopeful and flouriſhing; but as conſtantly follow'd by ſevere winters that freeze, wither and

His Character.

deſtroy many hopeful plants, and future expectations.

His Conceſſions to the People.

Yet after all his perſonal and national failings, and his very breaches into the conſtitution, we muſt not forget that this prince, tho' loaded by numberleſs writers, did actually make as many conceſſions to his people, and paſs'd as fair and obliging acts, as any other, for many ages; moſt of which the nation find the benefit and ſatisfaction of to this day. Beſides the great *act of indemnity*, which flow'd, as it were, only from his own breaſt, he freely gave up the *court of wards*, *knights ſervices*, *purveyances*, &c. which tho' purchas'd, was a *prerogative* of the crown not eaſy to be ſurrender'd by another King. By the *teſt* act he bound up his own and his ſucceſſors hands, and loſt the ſervice of a great many of thoſe he accounted his beſt friends. He more effectually did the ſame in the act for *diſabling papiſts from ſitting in either houſe of parliament*; which was the more obliging in him, becauſe he was a real friend to their party. And to remove all fears from his people, he readily concurr'd in the deſtroying that terrible writ *de hæretico comburendo*. But what is moſt to be remember'd is, his happy confirmation of the liberties of the people in that call'd the *habeas corpus* act, by which *Engliſh*-men are ſo nobly diſtinguiſh'd from the ſubjects of all foreign governments, whether they be monarchies, or commonwealths.

In a word, he never refus'd any thing to his ſubjects in a parliamentary way, but one ſhort bill, drawn up in a heat, concerning the *militia*, when he thought they were going to imitate the demands in 1642. Indeed the bill of *excluſion* and *baniſhment* of his brother he kept at as great a diſtance as he cou'd; but he had the good fortune not to meet it in its full power, ſince

ſince it was rejected in the houſe of peers by a conſiderable majority. Yet in lieu of this bill he more than once made ſuch ample conceſſions and limitations to both houſes, which if accepted of by them, muſt have diminiſh'd the monarchy, and might have left the crown for ever in ſhackles.

To ſay more in an introductory diſcourſe, may be thought tedious; and leſs cou'd hardly do juſtice to a reign ſo various in its ſelf, and yet more variouſly related by ſeveral common writers; who out of ignorance or reſentment, have made the knowledge of it more intricate than it was before, and *myſterious* even to a proverb.

CHAP II.

A fuller Review of the Reign of King James *the Second, from his Acceſſion to the Throne, to the Beginning of the Revolution.*

Containing about three Years and an half.

1685.

The Preface.

I. THE fears and apprehenſions of *popery* and *arbitrary power* had violently affected the nation for ſome years before King *Charles*'s deceaſe, and brought it under ſevere inquietudes. But, what is obſervable, the torment was ſharpeſt when it was moſt remote and imaginary, and as the real cauſes of it increas'd, the pain as much diminiſh'd, and was almoſt ſtupify'd in the concluſion of the reign; and men ſeem'd leaſt ſenſible, when the invaſion was moſt effectual, and the danger moſt imminent. The death of that King had been for a long time look'd upon as a thing dreadful, like the *end of the world*; and yet, when it did happen, there appear'd a ſettled calm, attended with ſuch proſpects of a fair day; that the tears then ſhed, ſeem'd more for the loſs of ſo belov'd a prince, than for any fears of a ſucceſſor. So that King *James* aſcended the throne, as well without oppoſition, as without murmurs or complaints; all heats and proceedings againſt him being forgotten and bury'd: And he, who but a few years ſince was not only to be excluded from the crown, but proſcrib'd and baniſh'd from his native land, immediately found himſelf a monarch attended with as much authority and revenue, as any of his predeceſſors. It is therefore ſtrangely ſurprizing

prizing that a great King with ſtrong armies and a formidable navy, an immenſe treaſure and powerful allies, ſhould fall all at once; and his whole ſtrength, like an over-grown bubble, be ſo broken with a touch, as never to be recover'd again.

The Character of King James.

This prince was now ſomewhat paſt the prime of his age, being above fifty one years old; in the former part of which, as he had too early occaſions to look into the genius of foreign courts, ſo his riper years afforded him ſufficient opportunities of underſtanding that of the people he was to govern, and particularly ſhow'd him how hard it was to overturn an *eſtabliſh'd religion*, or introduce a *new one*, ſince he had ſtruggl'd through many difficulties upon the account of his own. He had ſo many years experience, before he mounted the throne, that few of his predeceſſors could boaſt of the like advantages. Indeed he ſeem'd wanting as to his brother's parts and capacity, which he endeavour'd to make up by application and induſtry; which might occaſion the duke of *Buckingham* to give this ſharp character of the two brothers. *The elder cou'd ſee things, if he wou'd; and the other wou'd ſee things, if he cou'd.* He was of a martial temper, and had given many proofs of his courage and abilities that way, by land as well as by ſea; for which he has been particularly commended by the two great generals of the age, the prince of *Conde*, and marſhal *Turenne*. Of late years he had reſtrain'd thoſe pleaſures, in which, in former times, his brother cou'd not exceed him; and aſſum'd a more grave, auſtere and haughty demeanor. He was temperate and frugal, an improver of his treaſure, a kind huſband, and an indulgent father; and, 'till after he came to the crown, was eſteem'd an inviolable obſerver of his faith and word. From which if he

he had never deviated, his reign might have been as happy as any before him; or if he cou'd have kept to the dying advice of his brother, *Not to think of introducing the* romiſh *religion in* England; *as a thing both dangerous and impracticable.*

His Firſt Failings.

But he ſoon forſook this advice, and within two days open'd the way by going publickly to maſs, and ſolemnly profeſſing himſelf a *catholick.* And immediately after he declar'd in print, that his brother, the late King, dy'd in the very ſame communion; and he publiſh'd ſome papers in vindication of that religion, all written by the ſame King's own hand. He did not only ſhow where he was gone himſelf, but in a little time let others know, *That he expected to be follow'd by all who intended to his favours.* And tho' at firſt he had ſeveral wiſe and good men in his council, yet by degrees they were chang'd for worſe, for zealots and thoſe leaſt judges of the conſtitution; ſo that in no long time he fell into the hands of prieſts and jeſuits, and ſuch as wou'd undertake moſt boldly for introducing the *romiſh* religion.

The Character of the Earl of Sunderland.

Among thoſe that got poſſeſſion of this unhappy King, the earl of *Sunderland* was one of the firſt, and held his ſtation moſt of the reign. A thouſand conjectures have been made as to the actions of this man, to which we can give no certain aſſent. He had a ſuperior genius to moſt men of buſineſs or policy; he had a deep and penetrating head, clear and ready in apprehenſion, tho' with two much heat both of imagination and paſſion. He ſeem'd able to manage parties beyond expectation, and cou'd change ſides, with too little regard either to religion, or the intereſt of the nation; and further he had a dexterity of inſinuating himſelf into the greateſt degree of confidence with three ſeveral princes, tho' they were ſetting up different intereſts.

tereſts. He was extremely valu'd by King *Charles* the ſecond, who made him a privy-counſellor, and ſecretary of ſtate. Notwithſtanding which, he zealouſly promoted the *excluſion* bill, and in ſo open a manner, that he was turn'd out of all places. Yet within two years time, when the tide began to turn, he artfully wrought himſelf into all favour, and made the duke of *York*, ſenſible "That every thing he had done in par-"liament, which ſeem'd to be againſt his *inte-*"*reſt*, was moſt of all for his *advantage*." He told his royal highneſs "That the reaſon "why he was ſo warm for the *excluſion*, which "he knew wou'd not paſs, was to prevent the "*limitations*, which he was ſure wou'd have "paſs'd, if the *excluſion* had not been ſo ſtiffly "adher'd to by him and others." He further told him, "If the *limitations* had paſs'd, when-"ever he came to the crown, he would have "been only a *doge* of *Venice*; but now he, by "defeating them, *had made him a monarch*." Theſe refined arguments ſo ſatisfy'd the duke, that he himſelf introduced him to the King his brother, and fully reſtored him. This account came from a great man, well acquainted with his lordſhip, who thereupon made this ſhort remark, *If the earl ſpoke truth to the duke, (which no man can contradict) how hard is it for the people to judge of ſtateſmen by their outward actions?*

The King's Word rely'd on.

Nor can we certainly judge of his in this reign, whether he acted beſt for his King or his country, or whether he was unfaithful to either; which queſtions but few at this time can determine with certainty. But we have reaſon to belive, that as the King did not want adviſers, ſo he did not want inclinations to carry on thoſe deſigns which ſo openly appear'd afterwards. Theſe began early to diſcover themſelves, before the earl was prime miniſter of ſtate,

or

or indeed before they were well regarded by the people, who readily truſted to the word of a perſon who had obtained the title of *JAMES* THE JUST. Indeed the promiſes he made *to maintain the church of* England, and that *he wou'd never invade any man's property*, was then thought a ſecurity equal to any law; and the common expreſſion was, *We have now the word of a king, and a word never yet broken.*

His firſt Step. Upon this preſumption he might well venture upon any large ſtep, and particularly to levy the *cuſtoms* and *exciſe* that had been given to the late King only for life, and were now determin'd with it. This was done under a plauſible pretext of leaving it to a parliament ſhortly to be conven'd; and was ſo well ſtrengthen'd by reaſons of ſtate, and the opinions of lawyers, that had the King never proceeded further in the like ways, in all probabilty it wou'd have been ſoon forgotten, or not much regarded. But afterwards, when there aroſe new occaſions of complaint, this was remember'd with full aggravation. In the mean *Addreſſes.* time addreſſes flow'd in from all parts of the King's dominions, from counties, corporations, univerſities, and inns of court; all appearing joyful for his majeſty's happy acceſſion to the throne; and ſeveral more particularly for his voluntary promiſe of *maintaining our religion eſtabliſh'd by law*; to which the *London* clergy added theſe words, *dearer to us than our lives.*

The Meeting and Nature of the Parliament. II. After a ſolemn coronation, upon which many obſervations were made, the much-expected parliament met, above three months after the acceſſion to the throne. In order to this meeting, we are told of late, That elections in general were carry'd on with great injuſtice and violence, and more eſpecially in *Cornwall* by the management of a great man there. As to what

what was done in the *Weſt*, I am willing to abate in my former account, as not being ſo well acquainted with thoſe proceedings as the author that related them. But in many other parts, particularly the *Eaſt*, the elections ſeemed to go on with as much coolneſs and unanimity as had been known for many years; notwithſtanding the unjuſtifiable modelling ſo many corporations ſince the laſt parliament. It conſiſted indeed, for the moſt part, of the late prevailing party; but ſuch as were ready to ſecure the happineſs of their King and country, and the eſtabliſh'd religion. Among whom were fifty five of noble families, ninety five baronets, and ninety ſix knights; and the reſt were many of them gentlemen of the beſt credit and intereſt in their countries, eſpecially thoſe elected for counties.

The King's Speech and Promiſes.

The King in his ſpeech to both houſes declar'd to them "That he would always take "care to defend and ſupport the church of "*England*; that he would make it his endeavour "to preſerve the government both in *church* and "*ſtate*, as it was by *law eſtabliſh'd*; and as he "wou'd never part from the juſt *rights* and *pre-* "*rogatives* of the crown, ſo he would never in- "vade any man's *property*." He further told them, "That in giving this aſſurance concern- "ing the care he wou'd have of their *religion* "and *property*, he had choſen to do it in the "*ſame words* which he had us'd at his firſt "coming to the crown, the better to evidence "to them, That he ſpoke them not by *chance*, "and conſequently, *That they might firmly rely* "*upon a PROMISE ſo ſolemnly made*." He alſo deſir'd to have his brother's revenue as he had; and laſtly acquainted them with the earl of *Argyle*'s invaſion in *Scotland*, the account of which juſt now arriv'd. Upon this ſpeech both houſes immediately join'd in an addreſs of thanks,

&c.

&c. for his *declaration*; to which the King in his anſwer, told them, *That he cou'd repeat no more than what he had ſaid already, and they ſhould find that he would be as good as his word.*

The Parliament acquieſce in them.

Theſe repeated promiſes, and the preſent urgency, caus'd the houſe of commons, without retroſpects or contradiction, to vote the ſame revenue to his preſent majeſty, during life, that had been granted to the late King: All which, together with the *chimney-money*, and other hereditable revenues, for ever annex'd to the crown, did now amount to above two millions a year. The notion of gratitude then ran very high, eſpecially in thoſe members that had done ſuch ſignal ſervice to the King, when the *excluſion* was on foot. Accordingly they unanimouſly came to this grand reſolution, "That they did acqui-"eſce, entirely rely, and reſt wholly ſatisfy'd on "his majeſty's gracious *word*, and repeated *de-"claration* to ſupport and defend the religion of "the church of *England*, as it was now by law "eſtabliſh'd, *which was dearer to them than their "lives.*" And thus they told his majeſty, when he paſs'd the money bill, which ſettled his revenues without any conditions or approbations whatſoever.

In a ſhort time after, upon the news of a ſecond and more dangerous invaſion by the duke of *Monmouth* in the *Weſt*, their indignation was ſuch, that they immediately paſs'd an act of *attainder* againſt the ſaid duke, ſet a price upon his head; and, beſides ſome additional duties, gave the King four hundred thouſand pounds upon this *extraordinary occaſion*. In all which proceedings, the houſe of peers, tho' accounted cautious, concurr'd without oppoſition. Yet it is remarkable that having paſs'd a bill *for reverſing the attainder of the lord* Stafford, and ſending it to the commons, they appear'd more cautious than the other,

ther, as judging that the words of it might too much weaken the belief of the *popiſh plot*, and ſo give advantage to a party which they found they did not want at that time. After ſix weeks ſitting, and a great variety of buſineſs, the parliament broke up by adjournment, in which never was greater harmony between a King and his people; never more fair promiſes on one ſide, nor greater generoſity on the other. *They break up.*

The nation at that time did not appear much diſcontented, being ſupported by hopes that honour and gratitude would have a ſtrong influence upon the King's actions; yet during the ſeſſion there happen'd two or three things that ſtruck deep into the minds of the people, and afterwards turn'd much to the detriment of the King. Theſe were the cruel ſcourgings of *Oates* and *Dangerfield*, men indeed infamous and guilty to an uncommon degree; yet being whipp'd after ſuch a publick and barbarous manner, it made great impreſſion upon the vulgar who were unus'd to ſuch ſpectacles, and cou'd much better judge of their puniſhments, than their crimes. The eſcape of the firſt with life, was thought to be more than human, and the pity of great numbers was ſo rais'd, that it would have been better for the King, if he had met with his puniſhment in the late reign, as was intended, or had been pardon'd in this. The other's puniſhment was accompany'd with an accident which increas'd the murmurs of the people, a blow given him by a furious man, at the concluſion of his ſufferings, which put an end to his pains and life together; for which, to allay the heats, he ſuffer'd death himſelf. Upon theſe ſevere executions, an obſervation was afterwards made in the houſe of lords, *That no nation was leſs fearful of death, or more frighted at torments, than the* Engliſh; who are indeed ſtrangers to racks, *Ungrateful Proſecutions.*

racks, wheels, and other tortures practis'd in foreign countries.

There was a third profecution of a quite different nature, which had effect upon great numbers, the trial of Mr. *Baxter*, a man of eminency and gravity, who for ſome paſſages in a book of his, not deſign'd for reflection, was treated by the lord chief juſtice *Jeffreys* after ſuch a ludicrous and extravagant manner, as had never been known in a court of judicature. This uſage, together with his fine, impriſonment, and bonds of behaviour impos'd upon him, made the people, as well as the party, look upon the whole as exorbitant, and not a little reflecting upon the government it ſelf.

Argyle *and* Monmouth *defeated.*

Within a very ſhort time the earl of *Argyle* was defeated, taken and beheaded in *Scotland*, which put an end to all diſturbances in that kingdom. It was a longer time, and with more difficulty and bloodſhed, that brought about the defeat of the duke of *Monmouth* in *England*, who by great numbers was beloved and pity'd to the higheſt degree. He made a bold, and yet hopeful attempt for a crown, but met with the ſame fate with *Argyle*, after he had begg'd his life in a more abject manner than was expected. He ſign'd a *declaration* in the preſence of the King, "That his father told him, *He was never mar-*"*ry'd to his mother*," by that means expecting favour to his children. But he cou'd obtain none to himſelf. The King intimated, That he cou'd pardon every thing, but that unworthy ſcandal upon his fame, his publick declaring *That he had poiſon'd the King his brother*, and ſo left him to the executioner. He was for ſome years the idol of the people, the diſturbance of the nation, and oftentimes the vexation of his father; which ſhews the miſchiefs of unlawful liberties, which princes

princes and great men often challenged as their dues.

These two bold adventurers pluck'd at the fruit before it was ripe, or so inseparable, that it very much endanger'd the tree. Yet these attempts help'd to bring things forwards, and more towards maturity, as the consequences of them serv'd to lessen and alienate the affections of the people. For the King, pursuing his revenge, made use of unlucky instruments, who acted as if they thought fear and terror was the only security, without any consideration of mercy and benignity. The manner and the number of the Executions in the *West*, gave great disgust; tho' sometimes the obstinacy was as remarkable on the criminal side, as the severity was on the other. *The Consequences.*

But though it gave an ungrateful aspect of a *popish* government, yet still the King seemed more secure, and better establish'd than ever; and surely he might have continu'd so, if his conduct had been equal to his power. His open enemies were destroy'd, his parliament on his side, his revenues secur'd and settled, himself at peace with his neighbours, courted by them all, and holding in his hand the balance of *Europe*. So that if he had inviolably observ'd his promises, he might not only have reign'd in peace at home, but in all appearance have effected what he told the parliament in his second speech, *viz. To carry the kingdom's reputation yet higher in the world, than ever it had been in the time of his ancestors.* Nor, humanly speaking, cou'd it have been otherwise, if he had stood to his first maxim deliver'd in publick, *That the laws of* England *were sufficient to make the King as great a monarch as he cou'd wish.* *The King's Advantages.*

The ſecond Meeting of the Parliament.

III. Under theſe circumſtances the King a ſecond time met his loyal parliament, near four months after they had broke up. And now he ſhow'd himſelf in a more offending poſture, and told them, "That the *militia* was ſo weak and "inſignificant, that it was neceſſary for him to "keep up an army for their ſecurity, and accor-"dingly he had increas'd his forces. And tho' "ſome of his officers were not *qualify'd* accor-"ding to the late *teſts*, yet he told them plainly, "That he wou'd not expoſe them to *diſgrace*, "nor his ſelf to the *want* of them, if occaſion "offerr'd. He mov'd for a further ſupply, and "hop'd that there wou'd be no *diviſion* or *cold-"neſs* between him and his parliament, after ſo "many advantages obtain'd by a right under-"ſtanding.

They diſagree with the King.

The intimating of theſe two threatning particulars, a *ſtanding army*, and a *diſpenſing power*, ſoon put the parliament into a ferment, and the commons ſeem'd more couragious than the peers, being led on by the lord *Caſtleton*, a man above all fear and bribery. They ſhew'd themſelves ready to do any thing for their King that was obliging and reaſonable; but rous'd with the ſpirit of the *Engliſh* liberties, ſeem'd reſolv'd to give a check to the remoteſt breaches into the *conſtitution*. They offer'd an act to indemnify ſuch officers as had been legally *diſabled* for want of *qualifications*; and voted a ſupply of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds; but when it was mov'd that theſe words, *towards the ſupport of the additional forces*, ſhou'd be put into the bill, it was rejected. Accordingly they enter'd into a ſeparate addreſs from the lords, in which they begg'd "That "his majeſty wou'd maintain the laws, eſpeci-"ally that concerning the *teſt*, and remove all "apprehenſions and jealouſies from the hearts of "his

" his loyal ſubjects." The King warmly told them, *He did not expect ſuch an addreſs from the* houſe of commons; and having expoſtulated with them for acting contrary to his declar'd intent, he however told them, *He wou'd be ſteady to all his PROMISES he had made to them, and be juſt to his WORD in this, and all his other ſpeeches.*

And now finding the temper of both houſes, and that they ſtill ſtood upon the defenſive, making their parreys with decency, as well as dexterity, in eleven days time the King put an end to the ſeſſion by a ſudden prorogation, tho' with the loſs of the forenam'd ſeven hundred thouſand pounds. They were kept on foot for near two years after, but never met to do buſineſs. He us'd many repeated arts and artifices, both publick and private, to gain them over. But after long practice, when he found that offers cou'd not bribe them, nor threats and ill uſage intimidate them, he at laſt diſſolv'd them. And here we may wonder, that after ſuch home *promiſes* on the King's ſide, and ſuch large compliances on the other, there ſhou'd be ſo little union between them. If either of them had done leſs, the King's ſucceeding actions had been more excuſable, and not ſo liable to the cenſure of hiſtorians, who are oblig'd to take ſome cognizance of open ingratitude, and publick breach of faith. *They are diſſolv'd.*

1686.

I. From the prorogation of this obliging parliament, which happen'd in the firſt year of the reign, may be dated the firſt breaches between the King and the people, which latter began to open their eyes more and more, as the danger approach'd. It was natural to believe *Breach between King and People.*

that the brave oppoſition the former had met with, in his deſign of ſetting up a *diſpenſing power*, and promoting *popery*, wou'd have been ſufficient to deter him from that extravagant attempt. Nor is it eaſy to imagine that a prince, of ſo many good qualities, ſhou'd have been led into the exerciſe of deſpotick power, and ſo ſoon forgot what he had declar'd to his people concerning the laws of *England*, had he not been ſooth'd and elevated by flatterers and time-ſervers; and perhaps puſh'd on by unfaithful and deſigning men, who afterwards cou'd eaſily alledge, "That what they did was "for the *good of the nation.*" However, the King met with great incouragements from ſome men of all profeſſions; and the pulpits, though now more guarded, were not exempt from time-ſervers; particularly that of *Rippon*, where the dean took the liberty to give a right notion of the King's promiſes, and in effect told the world, "That his majeſty's promiſes were "*free donatives*, and ought not to be ſtrictly "examin'd or urg'd; and that they muſt leave "him to explain his own *meaning* in them." This gloſs ſo pleas'd the King, that he rewarded the author with a biſhoprick, and ſhew'd in all his actions that he deſign'd to proceed accordingly. This pretence ſoon run through the whole party; ſo that whenever they were under a neceſſity of ſerving themſelves by the aſſiſtance or credulity of *proteſtants*, they declined no terms with them; but when the ſervice was over, they wou'd not allow them to mention any promiſes, much leſs to challenge the performance of them.

The King's Attempts upon the Judges,

Upon ſuch a foundation a large ſuperſtructure might eaſily be rais'd; and ſince the King's endeavours with St. *Stephens*'s chapel had ſo little effect, he next reſolv'd to have *Weſtminſter-hall* at

at his command, and fill'd with ſuch judges as ſhou'd anſwer his purpoſes. His attempts upon the old judges, and his bargains with the new, for maintaining the *diſpenſing power*, ſufficiently ſhow'd his reſolutions. The firſt judge he try'd for the ſupporting ſuch a power, expreſly told him, *He cou'd not do it*. The King anſwer'd, *He would have twelve judges of his own opinion*. To which the other ſmartly reply'd, *That poſſibly he might find twelve judges, but he cou'd very hardly find twelve lawyers of that opinion*. Upon which he, and three more, were remov'd, and others more obſequious put in their room.

In purſuance of this, the firſt ſtep the King projected was a general *toleration* of religion; but this ſurprizing grant being contrary to the eſtabliſh'd laws of the realm, cou'd be no otherwiſe ſupported but by the *diſpenſing power*; which, tho' uſeful to the *papiſts* upon all occaſions, was introduc'd chiefly to invalidate the power of the famous *teſt* act. In order to this, a ſham information was brought againſt ſir *Edward Hales*, a *papiſt*, for acting in a military office without qualifying himſelf according to law, which produc'd the declar'd opinion of the new judges, *viz.* "That the laws of *Eng-* "*land* were the King's laws; and that it was "the inſeparable prerogative of the Kings of "*England* to diſpenſe with all *penal laws* in par- "ticular caſes and neceſſary reaſons: That of "theſe reaſons and neceſſities, the King was "the ſole judge: That this was not a *truſt* in- "veſted in the King, but the ancient remains "of the ſovereign power of the Kings of *Eng-* "*land*, which never was taken from them, nor "cou'd be." This was the more ſurprizing, becauſe the *teſt* act was known to be a *diſabling*, as well as a *penal* ſtatute; the former to ſet a

Who allow of the Diſpenſing Power.

bar to the incroachments of the crown, and the latter to be a terror to the offender. So that the *diſpenſing power* in this caſe was look'd upon as a double breach into the conſtitution; both as it remov'd the limits of the prerogative, and defeated the reward of the informer, who by law was as much intituled to the penalty, as a common creditor is to the money he lends. Thus by the breath of a few forward and mercenary judges, an open breach was made into the vitals of the happy conſtitution of *England*.

A great increaſe of Prieſts, Jeſuits, &c.

II. This great point being gain'd in appearance, tho' not ſo compleatly as intended, the *romaniſts* were not defective in improving it to the utmoſt advantage. The open exerciſe of their religion was promoted in a general manner; and *jeſuits ſchools* and *ſeminaries*, both in *London* and the moſt conſiderable towns, erected for the propagation of it. The church of *England* had now but a precarious title to the *national church*, and plainly ſaw the impending dangers; which, increaſing by the ſervile compliance of ſome few of her members, became more threatning to the whole body. *Romiſh* candidates ſoon laid hold of the eccleſiaſtical preferments in their hopes and expectations. Four *roman* biſhops were publickly conſecrated in the King's chapel, and ſent out, under the title of *vicars apoſtolical*, to exerciſe their epiſcopal functions in their reſpective dioceſes; and their *paſtoral letters*, directed to the *lay-catholicks* of *England*, were printed by the King's *allowance*, and diſpers'd about the country. Their *regular* clergy appear'd in their habits at *White-hall* and St. *James*'s, and made no ſcruple to tell the proteſtants, *That they hop'd in a little time to walk in* proceſſion *through* Cheapſide.

ſide. A glorious harveſt of new converts was now expected; and that labourers might not be wanting, whole flocks of *prieſts* and *regulars* were ſent from beyond ſea to reap it with full benefit.

The Clergy threatned,

And further to advance the cauſe, an order, by way of letter, was directed from the King to the proteſtant biſhops, "prohibiting all the "inferior clergy from preaching on *controverted* "*points* in divinity." This was taken from a precedent in the reign of Queen *Mary*; and was look'd upon as forbidding them to defend their religion in the pulpit againſt the open attacks of their adverſaries. And as they were reſtrain'd on one ſide, ſo they were threaten'd on the other with levying the full value of their *firſt-fruits* and *tenths*, and bringing them into further miſchiefs and difficulties. Yet this enſnaring letter, and attending menaces, were ſo little regarded by the heroes of the clergy, that they couragiouſly ventur'd to meet the increaſing torrent, and made ſuch brave and noble advances againſt the church of *Rome*, as render'd their pens and memories immortal.

But without Effect.

A new Commiſſion *Court,*

To check theſe and the like champions, and awe the body of the church of *England*, the King erected a new court of *inquiſition*, under the title of, *A commiſſion for eccleſiaſtical cauſes*; a court contrary to an act of parliament; not only illegal in the conſtitution, but arbitrary in its proceedings. The new court was ſoon let looſe againſt the active biſhop of *London*, who was mark'd out for the firſt ſacrifice, tho' he and his family had been the moſt noted loyaliſts in the kingdom. After a ſhort proceſs, he was formerly ſuſpended from his office and function, during the King's pleaſure; for no other reaſon given, but becauſe he refus'd to ſuſpend Dr. *Sharp*, a celebrated preacher in his dioceſe,

Which ſuſpends the Biſhop of London.

without citation or admonition. And when, in the proceedings, he inſiſted upon his privilege, his innocency and the illegality of the command ſent to him, he was told by the court, *That the King was to be obey'd.*

This, and other ſummary inſtances, though threatning enough, were not thought ſufficient to finiſh the point; for the King was made ſenſible, how precarious his *diſpenſing power* and his *commiſſion court* wou'd prove, unleſs he had a ſtronger ſupport than the opinions of *lawyers.*

A Standing Army. And being eaſily led into any project that promis'd increaſe to his religion, he aſſembled all his forces, to the number of fifteen thouſand men, on *Hounſlow-heath*, where he form'd a regular camp, in which he very often entertain'd himſelf, and caus'd a chapel to be erected at his head-quarters, where *maſs* was publickly us'd every day. Though this ſmall army at firſt conſiſted chiefly of *proteſtants*, having but few *popiſh* officers of diſtinction; yet in no long time the ſenſible increaſe of the latter, gave no ſmall jealouſies to the former; and indeed to the whole nation, who found that ſuch a *ſtanding army*, in the time of peace, was contrary to law, and in the times of *popery*, deſtructive to all that was dear to them.

Mr. Johnſon's *Puniſhment.* To incounter which danger, a couragious clergy-man, Mr. *Johnſon*, undertook to write a particular *addreſs to the* Engliſh proteſtants *in King* James's *army*, freely laying open the illegality and danger of their preſent ſervice. A bold undertaking for a private perſon. For which, beſides the ſolemn degradation from his function, he was condemn'd to ſuffer the ſame ignominious puniſhment that had been formerly inflicted upon the infamous *Oates* and *Dangerfield.* Tho' the cruel part, by the management of his friends, met with ſome little miti-

gation

gation, yet it ſtruck deep, and made ſtrong impreſſions upon the minds of the people; and the ſeeds ſown in *The addreſs to the ſoldiers* took deeper root than at firſt, and very much promoted that great defection in the army, which happen'd two years after.

III. That nothing might be wanting to promote the *holy cauſe*, and diſplay their imaginary trophies, a ſolemn embaſſy was diſpatch'd to *Rome*, under the management of the earl of *Caſtlemain*. His inſtructions and offers were, "To reconcile the three kingdoms of "*England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to the *holy ſee*; "from which, for more than an age, they had "revolted by means of the *northern hereſy*." Tho' the pope was ſo penetrating, and ſo attach'd to the *Auſtrian* intereſt againſt the *French*, as to give no incouragement to theſe extraordinary proffers; yet the *jeſuits* at *Rome* paid their higheſt reſpects to this ambaſſador, and entertain'd him in their *ſeminaries*, with the greateſt magnificence. Nothing was wanting in nature or art to grace his reception; and all their ſtores of ſculpture, painting, poetry and rhetorick, ſeem'd to have been exhauſted upon this entertainment. And tho' all the *inſcriptions* and *emblems* center'd upon the *triumph of the* catholick *religion*, *and the ruin of hereſy in* England; yet care was taken, not to omit ſuch particular *trophies* and *devices* as were adapted to their new acquir'd liberty of *ſetting up their publick ſchools at* London. So ſanguine and believing was that ſociety, of bearing down all oppoſition before them. *An Embaſſy to* Rome.

To this ſociety King *James* ſeem'd intirely devoted, eſpecially to father *Petre*, whom he choſe for his favourite; and tho' he cou'd not obtain the favour of making him a cardinal, *The King's Favours to the* Jeſuits.

yet

yet he himſelf in time ventur'd to make him a privy counſellor, to the great ſurprize of his chief friends. And to the order in general, he ſhew'd a more than ordinary reſpect and veneration; and upon a particular occaſion he profeſs'd himſelf a SON *of their ſociety, of whoſe intereſt he was glad as of his own.* Moreover he told them, *That he would either convert* England, *or die a martyr in the attempt*; and in ſhort, drove on his religious deſigns with ſo rapid a courſe, that it gave ſome terror to his wiſeſt friends and counſellors. And when ſome of them objected to his majeſty, *That they thought he made too much haſte to eſtabliſh the faith*; he anſwer'd, *I am growing old, and muſt take LARGE STEPS; elſe, if I ſhou'd happen to die, I may leave you in a worſe condition than I found you.* And he is ſaid to have ſet up this for a maxim, *That a King, when he has made a ſtep, is never to go back.*

He turns off his old Friends.

In purſuance of theſe ſteps, he neglected no means towards the making of new converts, or at leaſt gaining of a compliance to his common meaſures. His former friends, tho' never ſo loyal and true to him, were neglected and diſcourag'd, if they were any ways backwards in ſerving of him *in his own way.* He early told the marquiſs of *Hallifax*, *That tho' he wou'd not forget paſt ſervices, yet ſince he wou'd not conſent to the repeal of the teſts, he was reſolv'd to have all of a piece*; and ſo diſmiſs'd him. His more zealous friend, admiral *Herbert*, was turn'd out of all his places, for want of compliance, in which, till then, the world thought he had been too liberal. His two brothers-in-law, the earl of *Clarendon* and the earl of *Rocheſter*, the former of whom he had made lord privy-ſeal and lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, and the latter lord treaſurer of *England*, agreeable to their merit,

merit, and their near relation to the King; they were both remov'd from their high ſtations, for keeping firm to the religion in which they had been educated by their noble father. The famous duke of *Ormond* was before diſmiſs'd for his unyielding behaviour; tho' he had been ſuch an eminent ſupporter of the crown, and ſo illuſtrious a patriot to his country, as cou'd hardly be match'd in any nation. We muſt not forget that when the King gave the duke of *Norfolk* the ſword of ſtate to carry before him to his chapel, his grace ſtopp'd at the door. Upon which the King ſaid, *My lord, your father would have gone further:* To which he briskly reply'd, *Your majeſty's father, who was a better man, would not have gone ſo far.*

Theſe were the chief ſteps that were made in the ſecond year of this reign, and ſo much help'd forwards the great change at the end of it.

1687.

I. It ſoon appear'd that the King had no juſt regard to the paſt ſervices of his old and faithful friends, but in the third year of his reign, he made a ſtep further, and openly indulg'd and courted his ancient and profeſs'd enemies; and in a particular manner thoſe people and families in the *weſt*, which had been ſo ſeverely treated in the beginning of the reign. One of his maxims lately ſet up was the great happineſs of an *univerſal toleration.* He us'd to ſay, *Nothing was more reaſonable, more chriſtian, and more politick*; and he much reflected on the church of *England* for the ſeverities with which the diſſenters had been treated: Which was the more ſtrange, ſince ſo many of them were

He courts his Enemies.

His Declaration *in their Favour,*

were puſh'd on to thoſe formerly in favour of his intereſt. Accordingly he iſſu'd out his *royal declaration* for *liberty of conſcience*, " in which " among other particulars, he declares his *royal* " *prerogative*, and the *diſpenſing power*, and al- " lows all his ſubjects to hold all *civil* and *mili-* " *tary* places, without taking the uſual *oaths* " and *teſts*; yet at the ſame time renews his " former promiſes of maintaining the church " of *England* as eſtabliſh'd by law.

Joyfully receiv'd.

Upon the appearance of this *declaration*, the body of the people were ſtruck with wonder and amazement on one ſide, and joy and ſatisfaction on the other. The latter immediately ſeiz'd upon the *diſſenters* of all kinds, who were ſo tranſported, that moſt of them ſnatch'd at the bait, without thinking of the hook within it. They were not content with a ſilent acceptance of this *liberty*, but were drawn in to make inſults of joy for it; and preſented innumerable addreſſes of thanks, ſo high and extravagant, that ſome of them were thought offenſive to the very ears of the King. Yet his majeſty appear'd highly pleas'd with them, and was incourag'd to proceed more boldly in thoſe deſigns which help'd forwards his ruin. The numbers of *lives* and *fortunes* ſaid to be at the King's *devotion*, were ſo vaſtly great, that whatever were the thoughts of knowing *Engliſh*-men, the reſt of the world might naturally look upon his majeſty as a monarch ſecurely fix'd, and unmoveable on his throne.

The Effects of it.

This *declaration* too ſoon began to anſwer the ends for which it was publiſh'd; and ſcarce a day paſs'd without ſome proteſtant or other being reconcil'd to the church of *Rome*. Tho' many made a brave reſiſtance, yet the King's religion was now became ſo faſhionable, as well as profitable, that it is no wonder that many weak,

weak, frail and irreligious perſons were ſo ready to embrace it. And now it more plainly appear'd, that the chief endeavours at court were to widen the former breaches, and to revive the animoſities between the old *church-men* and the *proteſtant diſſenters*; and the former were more than ever blacken'd by bold and mercenary writers, incourag'd from above, to the pleaſure and advantage of the *papiſts*. In ſhort, the church of *England* was pelted with ſuch libels, and repreſented in ſuch colours, as if it was the only *perſecuting church* in chriſtendom.

II. Theſe ſteps gave but a very melancholy proſpect to the beſt of the clergy, which daily open'd and increas'd, when they found a ſtorm was ready to be diſcharg'd upon thoſe great ſeminaries of learning, the two univerſities; places that were thought to have too much ſtrain'd their loyalty to the crown, when the greateſt oppoſition appear'd againſt it. The jeſuits had for ſome time endeavour'd to get footing in the univerſities, not doubting but to gain ſuch a reputation by their methods of teaching youth, as wou'd carry all buſineſs from the tutors in thoſe places. Some propos'd the endowment of a new colledge in each univerſity; but others were for rougher methods, to frighten them into a compoſition, ſo as to deliver up one or two colleges to them: *And then*, as the King us'd to ſay, *they who taught beſt, wou'd be moſt follow'd.* *Attempts upon the Univerſities.*

They began with *Cambridge* upon a more gentle point, which wou'd have open'd a paſſage to all the reſt. The King ſent a *mandamus* letter thither, "To admit *Alban Francis*, "a *benedictine* monk, to the degree of *maſter of* "*arts*, without adminiſtering any oaths what-"ſoever, *Firſt upon* Cambridge.

" ſoever, *notwithſtanding any law or ſtatute to* " *the contrary.*" This being contrary to their former oaths, and legal ſtatutes, they refus'd him his degree; but with an humble repreſentation to the King, " That what they did, " proceeded from a conſcientious ſenſe of their " obligations to laws and oaths." For which they were immediately commanded to *do it at their peril*; and ſoon after the vice-chancellor was brought before the *eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners*, and there ſuſpended both from his office in the univerſity, and the benefit of his maſterſhip. This, tho' carry'd no further, gave great terror and diſcouragement to all learned men in that place, that had not a good intereſt at court.

Next upon Oxford: But this ſtorm fell far more furiouſly upon the univerſity of *Oxford*, and particularly upon one of the nobleſt foundations in the kingdom, *Magdalen* colledge. Upon the death of the *preſident*, the courtiers had an immediate eye upon the preferment, and a *mandate* was ſent to the ſociety in behalf of one *Farmer*, a man of corrupt manners and looſe principles, and only recommeded by his promis'd compliance to the religion in faſhion. The fellows therefore humbly petition'd his majeſty, " That *Farmer* being " a perſon uncapable of that character by the " ſtatutes of their founder, he wou'd be pleas'd " to leave them to the diſcharge of their duty " and conſciences, according to the late *tolera-* " *tion*, or recommend one duly qualify'd." The petition was lodg'd with the earl of *Sunderland*, with a promiſe of his favour; but at laſt the plain anſwer was, *The King muſt be obey'd.* This being deliver'd on the laſt day of election limited by the ſtatutes, they were reduc'd to the difficulty, either of ſacrificing their conſciences to their obedience, or hazarding the danger of their

their diſobedience, by proceeding to an election according to their *oaths* and *ſtatutes:* Which latter they choſe to do, and elected Dr. *Hough*, a man of real merit, who was accordingly ſworn and admitted preſident by the *viſitor* of the college.

Hereupon the vice-preſident and fellows were cited before the *eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners*, to whom three new ones were added for this turn; the new preſident was depriv'd, and two of the fellows with great contempt ſuſpended. The fellows of the college were order'd to ſee the ſentence executed and affix'd to the college gates; which they refuſing to do, were again cited to appear before the commiſſioners. But the court being in time aſham'd of the profligate life of *Farmer*, the former mandate was withdrawn, and a new one granted to Dr. *Parker*, the complying biſhop of *Oxford*, but with no preſent effect, but keeping the cauſe in ſuſpence for ſeveral weeks. *Particularly upon* Magdalen *College.*

During which time, the king, having diſſolv'd his parliament, was entertain'd with a new ſet of addreſſes, vaſtly numerous, and more to the purpoſe than the former. Thoſe had only promis'd their *lives* and *fortunes*; but many of theſe expreſsly promis'd to chuſe ſuch repreſentatives as ſhou'd be ready to anſwer and obey the King's deſire. So that never any King ſeem'd more ſecure than his preſent majeſty, or ever any prince ſurrounded with greater proſperity. To eſtabliſh which, or rather to influence elections, he this ſummer undertook a progreſs into the *weſt* and other parts, where he met with great ſatisfaction and compliments; and his preſence is ſaid to have made more converts than judge *Jeffreys* cou'd do with all his legal powers, and military auxiliaries. *The King's Succeſs and Progreſs.*

In

His Treatment of Magdalen *College.*

In this height of pleaſure, hearing that *Magdalen* college had refuſ'd to admit of biſhop *Parker* as unqualify'd by the ſtatutes, he was ſo incens'd at this freſh contempt of his orders, that he reſolv'd to make *Oxford* a part of his progreſs, and ſhew his reſentment in perſon to thoſe diſobedient fellows; which he did in ſuch a manner as look'd beneath a crown'd head, and almoſt incredible. He fiercely told them, *That they had not dealt with him like gentlemen, and had done very uncivilly and undutifully.* And when they offer'd their petition upon their knees, he refus'd it, and ſaid, *They were a ſtubborn, turbulent college, that had affronted him,* and ask'd, *Whether this was their church of* England *loyalty.* He proceeded and ſaid, *Go home, and ſhew yourſelves good members of the church of* England. *Know I am your King! I will be obey'd: I command you, go and admit the biſhop of* Oxford. *Let them that refuſe, know, they ſhall feel the weight of their ſovereign's diſpleaſure.* With theſe, and the like menacing expreſſions, unknown on ſuch occaſions, he turn'd them over to an unknown judicature. It is often ſaid, that the King was in the main puſh'd on to extremities by the advice of others, and particularly one great man; but who adviſ'd him to this perſonal outrage is hard to know, unleſs we may gueſs at *William Pen,* the reputed quaker, his preſent aſſociate, who ſurely us'd all methods to make the fellows guilty of perjury.

When nothing wou'd prevail, the new commiſſioners were ſent down to them, who after ſeveral formalities, forceably inſtall'd a proxy for the biſhop; and cauſing the preſident's lodgings to be broke open, put him in poſſeſſion. Then tendering a paper of ſubmiſſion to the new intruding preſident, to be ſign'd by the fellows, all refus'd but two. The reſt, to the number of twenty

twenty five, were not only treated with great indignities, but were depriv'd and expell'd from their fellowſhips; and as a further puniſhment, were for ever made incapable of holding any eccleſiaſtical preferment whatſoever. Thus by a ſentence of an illegal court, a ſociety of learned *proteſtants* were driven out of their freeholds, to make room for a *popiſh ſeminary*; and thus an unfortunate prince was prevail'd on to aſſume a power, not only to diſpenſe with *laws*, but likewiſe with *oaths*; even at a time when he ſhew'd moſt zeal for *liberty of conſcience*. But it ſeems he had added to his former maxim, *A King ſhou'd never recede*, by ſaying, *He wou'd never encourage faction and diſobedience, by yielding to it.* *The Fellows expell'd.*

III. While theſe ſtrange proceedings were depending, the King thought fit to make a ſtep of another kind, and give an unuſual ſpectacle to his ſubjects; which was a ſolemn reception of an *apoſtolical nuntio* from *Rome*, a ſight which had not been ſeen in *England* for a hundred and fifty years before. This was Signor *d'Adda*, domeſtick prelate and aſſiſtant to the pope; to complete whoſe character, he was conſecrated archbiſhop of *Amaſia*, in the royal chapel at *Whitehall*, by three ſelect *romiſh* biſhops. And tho' it was high-treaſon in *England* for any to aſſume the character of the pope's *nuntio*, that law was diſpens'd with at this time; and he made his publick entry at *Windſor* with the higheſt pomp and ceremony; and with a vaſt concourſe of people, who were mightily affected at the ſight of a ſecond pope in all his *pontificalibus*, preceeded by a *croſs-bearer*, and a flock of *prieſts* and *monks* in the formal habits of their reſpective *orders*. The duke of *Somerſet*, then lord of the bed-chamber in waiting, was expected to aſſiſt in the ceremony, but he told the King, *He cou'd not ſerve him* *A Nuntio from Rome.*

upon this occaſion, being aſſur'd it was contrary to law. The King ask'd him *if he did not know that he was above the law.* The other reply'd, *If the King was, he himſelf was not above the law*; for which he was diſmiſs'd from all employments.

He publickly dines in the City.

Opportunity being wanting for the *nuntio* to appear publickly in *London*, it was projected, that he ſhould be invited with the King himſelf to dine at *Guildhall* on the *Lord Mayor's* day. This was done with particular pomp and parade. And that no part of the nation might be ignorant of it, the account by authority tells them, "That among the *foreign miniſters* "who were invited, there were preſent the *pope's* "*nuntio*, and the *French ambaſſador*.

New modelling of Corporations,

Beſides fore-mention'd advances, the reſt of the year was chiefly employ'd in managing two great points, the corporations and the ſtanding armies; the former, to make a parliament, and the latter to be a ſhelter againſt all difficulties. As to the firſt, the King reviv'd the laſt grievance in his brother's reign, in which he was thought to have had a principal hand; and carry'd on the buſineſs of *Quo Warranto's*, and new modelling corporations to a bolder and greater degree than had ever been known before; and for that end he employ'd inſtruments of all ſorts, except thoſe that were for the former eſtabliſhments. He chang'd the magiſtracy in *London*, and moſt of the cities of *England*; and put many perſons into authority, who were enemies to the church he had promis'd to maintain, and had been ſawcy oppoſers of his ſucceſſion, and rebels to his government.

And the Army.

As to his army, the ſoldiers by degrees became intolerably inſolent; and the officers, upon every occaſion, pretended to be exempt from the *civil power*. And tho' the nation was in perfect peace,

peace, yet an obſolete act of parliament, which made it death for ſoldiers taking pay in the King's ſervice in his wars on the *high ſea*, or in *Scotland*, to deſert their colours, was now extended to the illegal army at *Hounſlow-heath*. And for a diſagreeable interpretation of it, lawyers were turn'd out, and a new judge brought in, to hang a ſoldier upon the ſaid old ſtatute. But ſtill as they had not many papiſts among them, and ſuch as were willing to betray their country, ſo a reſolution was form'd at court to make ſufficient Recruits in *Ireland*, and to fill them up with *Iriſh papiſts*; which, tho' politically intended, prov'd a great ſtep towards the ruin of this unfortunate prince.

In ſhort, conſidering the whole of his proceedings, the King, by an eminent prelate, was prophetically compar'd to a *man that rode poſt over hedges and ditches, rocks and precipices; ſo that in a very little time, he muſt either break his neck, or come to his journey's end.* *The King in Haſte.*

IV. Yet ſtill, in the two other kingdoms, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, the ſteps appear'd larger and bolder than at home. In the former, at the beginning of his reign, the King let that parliament know, *That he was reſolv'd to maintain his power in its full luſtre.* This was interpreted in a good ſenſe, and the parliament was highly complying, but not to the full ſatisfaction of his majeſty, who after ſome tryals diſſolv'd it. He then began to explain himſelf; and having depriv'd two biſhops, and iſſu'd out his proclamation for *liberty of conſcience*, he therein us'd theſe words, That he did it by his *ſovereign authority, prerogative royal*, and *abſolute power, which all his ſubjects were to obey without* RESERVE. By virtue of which proclamation he repeal'd all the ſevere laws that *Proceedings in* Scotland.

were pass'd in his grandfather's name during his infancy: He took off all disabilities that were by any law laid on his *roman* catholick subjects, and restor'd them to all employments and places: And he repeal'd all laws imposing *tests* on those that held any employments. Instead of this last he set up a new one, by which "They shou'd "renounce the principle of *rebellion*, and oblige "themselves to maintain the King in his *abso-* "*lute power* against all mortals.

And in Ireland.

In *Ireland*, where the *papists* were more numerous, the King's designs met with less opposition. After the ungrateful removal of the two patriots, *Ormond* and *Clarendon*, from the government of that *Kingdom*, *Tyrconnel* took full possession of it, and proceeded against the protestant party after a most outragious manner. He was so formidable to all of them, that when it was known he shou'd be *lord lieutenant*, many of the merchants call'd in their effects, and left the kingdom. And they had reason sufficient, considering his former and latter actions, his disabling them of their arms, and depriving them of the common liberties. His proceedings are too many to be enumerated here; but his intentions seem'd clear by his usual sayings; particularly, when he took a short leave of some privy-counsellors and officers, he freely said, *I have put the sword into your hands*; and then, in his usual stile, he pray'd *God to damn them all, if ever they parted with it again.*

In a word, the black clouds and storm that was gathering over three kingdoms, this year appear'd very dismal to all wise and good men; and therefore their greatest hopes lay in the violence, and consequently the shortness of these unheard-of proceedings.

1688.

1688.

I. The next year, for the greateſt part of it, prov'd ſtill more diſmal, and was attended with ſome incidents more threatening to the *proteſtant* cauſe, and the conſtitution of the *Britiſh* dominions. Wiſe and moderate men had ſtill hopes from the fooliſh effects of precipitate counſels, and alſo from the thoughts of the King's being advanc'd in years, ſo that the reign could not be long; and that a *proteſtant* princeſs, the next her to the crown, wou'd ſoon make them forget the hardſhips of a *popiſh* government. But all were ready to deſpond, when they heard the whiſpers of the Queen's being with child, publickly confirm'd by the King's proclamation in *January*, to the mighty joy and ſatisfaction of all the *romiſh* party. *News of the Queen's Pregnancy.*

Prayers of *thankſgiving* were immediately drawn up by the three biſhops, who by commiſſion fill'd the ſee of *London*, and order'd to be ſolemnly read in all churches. The *Romaniſts*, who began to triumph over all oppoſers, were ſo elevated, that ſome had the aſſurance to declare, "That tho' the child ſhould prove a "daughter, yet it wou'd exclude the two prin"ceſſes, of *Orange* and *Denmark*, from the ſuc"ceſſion; alledging, that a daughter born af"ter the King's coming to the throne, ought "to take place before thoſe born when he "was duke of *York*." And becauſe the Queen's pregnancy was at this time unexpected, it was declared to be miraculous, and the effect of a petition offer'd up by the late dutcheſs of *Modena* to the *bleſſed virgin*, or of a vow and a preſent made by the Queen to our lady of *Loretto*. Which ſtory and reports ſerv'd to increaſe the ſuſpicions of the *proteſtant* party, who

bagan to recollect former accounts of cheats and impoſtures, particularly thoſe ſuppo'sd to be tranſacted in Queen *Mary*'s reign. Theſe accounts, join'd with the fabulous narratives of the cauſes of the Queen's conception, after ſix years intermiſſion; the inceſſant care taken by the *jeſuits* to let all know ſhe wou'd be deliver'd of a prince, and ſeveral concurring accidents, had a mighty influence upon the minds of the people, who ſoon concluded that the whole was an impoſition.

Not much believ'd.

However the court party found means to procure many addreſſes to be ſent up upon this joyful occaſion; particularly aſſuring the King of "Their ready compliance in electing ſuch members as ſhou'd concur with his gracious intentions of abrogating the penal *laws* and *teſts*, "equally pernicious to his majeſty's prerogative, "and his ſubjects liberties." And as the *jeſuits* increas'd in ſtrength and numbers, they were more buſy than ever in publiſhing and diſperſing their ſubtle books and pamphlets. This gave an occaſion to the champions of the church of *England* to draw their pens with freſh vigour in defence of their religion, *dearer to them than their lives*. Their learning and piety, their humility and paſtoral care, and their courage and bravery, became ſo viſible and illuſtrious, that they attracted the love and veneration of the beſt and greateſt of both ſexes. And now the clergy were eſteem'd and honour'd according to their merit and function; and now the *London* divines may be ſaid to have been the ornaments of the *reformed* churches, and the glory of the *chriſtian* world. This was a mighty comfort to all good men in the times of ſo much peril and danger.

The Bravery of the City Divines.

II. Be-

II. Beſides this relief in general, a particular incident appear'd in the beginning of the year that help'd to ſupport and ſettle the ſpirits of the people. The King, after ſeveral expedients, had the laſt year taken a reſolution to ſound the inclinations of the prince and princeſs of *Orange*, concerning the repeal of the *teſts* and *penal laws*; not doubting, that if he could engage them, he ſhou'd meet with little oppoſition in his intended parliament. To manage this affair, one Mr. *Steward*, a ſubtle lawyer, and a pardon'd criminal, was privately employ'd to learn from penſionary *Fagel*, as much as he cou'd of both their highneſſes opinions. Having gain'd an acquaintance with the penſioner, he wrote ſeveral letters to him, preſſing him in his maſter's name, and by his direction, to perſwade the prince to concur with the King, in procuring the ſaid laws to be repealed. "He re- "preſented to him the inconſiderable number "of the *papiſts*; and therefore little to be ap- "prehended from them: He enlarg'd on the "ſeverities which the *penal laws* had brought "on the *diſſenters*; and that the King was "reſolv'd not to conſent to the repealing them, "unleſs the *teſts* were taken away with them: "So that the refuſing to conſent to this, might "at another time bring them under new per- "ſecutions. *The King ſounds the Prince and Princeſs of* Orange.

All his letters were laid before the prince, who concluded that a full anſwer made by the penſioner, and publiſh'd as a *declaration* of his intentions, might be of ſervice to him in many reſpects; and chiefly in *popiſh* courts, that on civil accounts were inclinable to an alliance againſt *France*, but were now prepoſſeſs'd with an opinion, "That the prince and his party in *Eng-* "*land* were deſigning nothing but the ruin and

" extirpation of all the *roman catholicks* in thoſe " kingdoms.

The Opinions declared.

Accordingly *Fagel* wrote a long letter to *Steward*, which begun with great aſſurances of the duty of the prince and princeſs to the King: " They were both much againſt all perſecution " upon the account of religion. They freely " conſented that the *papiſts* ſhould be reliev'd " from the ſeverities of the laws made againſt " them upon account of their religion; and were " willing to grant a full toleration to other diſ- " ſenters. But they cou'd not conſent to the " repeal of thoſe laws that tended only to the " ſecurity of the *proteſtant* religion, as thoſe con- " cerning the *teſts*; which imported no *puniſh-* " *ment*, but only an *incapacity* of holding publick " employments, which cou'd not be complain'd " of as ſeverities; ſince it was a caution obſer- " ved in all nations, and was now neceſſary, " both for the ſecuring the publick peace and " the eſtabliſh'd religion. If the numbers of the " *papiſts* were ſmall, it was not reaſonable to " make ſuch a change for the ſake of a few; " and if thoſe few, that aim'd at publick em- " ployments, wou'd be ſo far prejudicial to their " own party, as not to ſuffer the King to be " content with the repeal of the *penal laws*, " unleſs they cou'd get into the offices of truſt, " their ambition was only to be blam'd, if they " refus'd ſuch good offers.

This point was ſtrenuouſly argu'd thro' the whole letter; and both their highneſſes zeal for the *proteſtant religion* was diſplay'd in ſuch terms as was highly unacceptable to the King; who order'd *Steward* to write back, *That he wou'd have all or nothing*. The lay *papiſts* of *England*, who were not engag'd in the intrigues of the prieſts, were more ſatisfy'd, and urg'd, " That " the King wou'd accept of the repeal of the " *penal*

The King's Anſwer.

" *penal laws*, which wou'd make them both " eaſy and ſafe for the future." And we are told, That the Emperor was ſo well ſatisfy'd with the offer, that he promis'd to uſe his intereſt in *Rome*, to get the pope to write to King *James* to accept of this, as a ſtep to the other.

The Weakneſs of the Jeſuits.

However it was, the King was in all points govern'd by the *jeſuits* and the *French* ambaſſador, who look'd upon all as ſure, and their ſcheme ſo well laid as not to miſcarry. And they ſo poſſeſs'd their weak envoy at the *Hague*, the marquiſs of *Abbeville*, that he made his diſcoveries there too early for his maſter's intereſt. Particularly when the prince was once ſpeaking to him of the *promiſes* the King had made, and the *oath* he had ſworn to maintain the laws and the eſtabliſh'd church; inſtead of pretending, as ſome had done, " That the King " ſtill kept his word," he boldly ſaid, *Upon ſome occaſions, princes muſt forget their promiſes.* And when the prince alledg'd, *That the King ought to have more regard to the church of* England, *which was the main body of the nation*; he reply'd in the ſenſe of the court, *That the BODY, which he call'd the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, wou'd not have a being two Years to an end.*

Fagell's Letter publiſh'd.

Fagell's important letter was wrote a little before any diſcourſes were rais'd of the Queen's pregnancy; and was ſo diſguſtful to the court, that for ſome time it was kept conceal'd. And then it was with great art and induſtry given out, " That the prince and princeſs had now " conſented to the repeal of the *teſts*, as well " as the *penal laws*." And further it was reported, " That the letter was all an *impoſture*. To prevent the ill effects of theſe reports, the prince order'd the penſioner's letter to be printed;

ed; which was ſent in great numbers into all parts of *England*, with further confirmations of it, to the great joy of the nation. The *diſſenters* ſaw themſelves ſafe in their highneſſes intentions towards them. The church party were confirm'd in their zeal for maintaining the *teſts*: And the moderate *papiſts* ſeem'd to be ſo well pleas'd with it, that they complain'd "of thoſe "ambitious prieſts and courtiers, who, rather "than decline their aſpiring projects, were re-"ſolv'd not to leave them till they were ex-"pos'd to all former ſeverities, tho' an *exemp-"tion* was now offer'd them." Upon this occaſion they were often jeer'd with the ordinary proverb, *Half a loaf was better than no bread.* In ſum, the *romaniſts* by their temper, loſt ſuch an opportunity of deſtroying thoſe ſanguinary laws ſo much decry'd by them, as they never cou'd recover to this day.

The King diſpleas'd. The King began particularly to ſhew his reſentments againſt the prince of *Orange*, now he found he cou'd neither move him or his princeſs; and ſuddenly ſent over for the return of the ſix *Engliſh* regiments that were then in the ſervice of the *States-General*. This was a ſurprize upon the *States*, who however gave ſoft and civil excuſes for their non-compliance, alledging the power of naturalization, and making a coalition of different nations. But ſtill to preſerve a good correſpondence, they offer'd leave and paſſes to all the officers that were willing to return home; which was accepted by about forty, who had been moſt troubleſom, and leaſt governable in thoſe parts. So that the prince was deliver'd from a ſet of aſſuming men, which cou'd neither be ſafely kept, nor eaſily diſmiſs'd.

He makes military Preparations. Meeting with ſmall ſucceſs abroad, the King redoubled his endeavours at home to get a parliament at his devotion, and ſufficient forces to anſwer

anſwer his purpoſe. In order to this latter, he gave out new commiſſions for the raiſing of more troops to be added to his ſtanding army: in which *Iriſh* papiſts were particularly diſtinguiſh'd and promoted, and more were ready to come upon ſufficient notice. At the ſame time he caus'd a larger fleet to be fitted out with the utmoſt diligence, as foreboding that he might have occaſion to carry on his cauſe by force of arms.

III. The fix'd reſolutions of both their highneſſes abroad, the brave ſteadineſs of the *Engliſh* clergy, and the new abatement of the diſſenters zeal againſt them, prov'd temporary ſupports to the ſinking ſpirits of the people, tho' labouring under the proſpect of a *popiſh ſucceſſor*. But theſe glimmerings of light were much weaken'd by the following clouds which ſoon overſpread the nation; which prov'd diſmal indeed to all hearty lovers of the church and ſtate. For the *popiſh* religion being now tranſcendent, and the breaches into the conſtitution born with ſubmiſſion, King *James*, intoxicated with flatterers, and hurry'd by a ſtrange fate, proceeded to an attempt that help'd to bring all things to a *criſis*. *A melancholy proſpect.*

This was the reviving and improving his *declaration for liberty of conſcience*, publiſh'd laſt year, which not being thought advantagious enough to the *romaniſts*, it was judg'd convenient to iſſue out a ſecond in a higher ſtrain, that they might be fully included. This was publiſh'd on the latter end of *April*, in which was recited the former declaration with ſeveral additions, inſiſting, "That he wou'd have *li-*
"*berty of conſcience* unalterable, and ſecure for
"ever, without the burthen of *oaths* and *teſts*;
"and declaring that none ought to be em-
"ploy'd *The King's ſecond Declaration for* Liber- of Con- ſcience,

" ploy'd in his ſervice, who wou'd not contri-
" bute towards this eſtabliſhment. At laſt he
" promis'd he wou'd hold a parliament in *No-*
" *vember* following.

Order'd to be read in Churches.

And not contented to have this publiſh'd in the uſual manner, the King reſolv'd to have it ſolemnly read, upon two *ſundays*, in all the churches in *England*, excuſing it in all maſs-houſes and meeting-houſes. The prelates and other clergy were generally averſe to this proceeding, as knowing the illegality of it, and foreſeeing the fatal deſign of it; and therefore the court ſeem'd more deſirous to humble theſe powerful oppoſers, and to help on their own ruin, either by their compliance, or their refuſal; and *even to eat their own dung*, as the haughty father *Petre* ſhamefully threaten'd. Accordingly a peremptory *order of council* was iſſu'd out, commanding the *declaration* to be diſtributed by the biſhops to their clergy, and to be read in all churches without exception, in time of divine ſervice.

The Biſhops conſult about it.

It is eaſy to imagine how much the biſhops and chief clergy of the nation were ſhock'd and ſurpriz'd at this imperious order, which they look'd upon as the greateſt ſnare and hardſhip that cou'd fall upon them. Upon the receipt of it, there were many meetings of the divines in and about *London*, and ſeveral of the prelates aſſembled at the archbiſhop's palace at *Lambeth*, to conſult how they ought to act in ſuch a nice and arduous caſe. And firſt having implor'd the divine aſſiſtance by extraordinary prayer, after long debate, they came to ſome reſolutions, and declar'd, " That the point at preſent " was not whether a *toleration* was a lawful or " expedient thing; but they judg'd the *matter* " of the *declaration* to be altogether illegal; be-" ing a power to *diſpenſe*, not only in ſome " contingent

" contingent caſes, which might meet with a " parliament's connivance, but was to *diſpenſe* " with all ſorts of laws, in caſes contrary to " the very end and deſign of making of them. " So that this was not properly a *diſpenſing* " but a *diſannulling* power, that directly tended " to the *total ſubverſion* of the government, and " making that to be an *arbitrary*, which by the " conſtitution was a *legal adminiſtration*.

After many arguings, theſe pious prelates, compaſſionately conſidering the great miſchiefs that wou'd fall upon the inferior clergy if they refus'd the *declaration*; and how ſtrongly they might be tempted to a ſinful compliance, generouſly choſe to take the blame and puniſhment upon themſelves, in refuſing to ſend the *declaration* to their clergy. An heroick act worthy of the character of biſhops of the church of *England*, who now reſolv'd to be *confeſſors*, as their predeceſſors had been *martyrs*, for the *proteſtant religion*. Accordingly they drew up an humble petition to the King, and ſign'd by ſeven biſhops, importing, " That their non- " compliance proceeded not from want of duty " and obedience to his majeſty, or from want " of tenderneſs to *diſſenters*; in relation to " whom they were willing to come to ſuch a " temper as ſhou'd be thought fit, when the " matter ſhou'd be conſider'd and ſettled in *par-* " *liament* and *convocation:* But becauſe that *de-* " *claration* had been founded upon ſuch a *diſ-* " *penſing power*, as had been declar'd illegal in " two ſeveral parliaments, beſides that in his " majeſty's reign: And it was matter of ſo " great a conſequence to the whole nation, both " in *church* and *ſtate*, that they cou'd not in " prudence, honour and conſcience, make them- " ſelves ſo far parties to it, as the cauſing of " the ſolemn publication of it once and again,

They Petition againſt it.

" even

" even in *God's houſe*, and in time of his *divine* " *ſervice*, muſt amount to in common and rea- " ſonable conſtruction.

The King inrag'd. The King had ſuch great expectation of ſuch an obedience from the clergy, as might have been extremely advantagious; and tho' he cou'd not hope for an univerſal compliance, yet he was made to believe that this order wou'd raiſe ſuch a diviſion and diſtraction amongſt them, as might eaſily make one part ruin the other. Therefore when the biſhops petition was preſented to him, which had been manag'd with great ſecrecy, he ſeem'd ſtartled and ſurpriz'd, and with the ſame fury he ſhew'd at *Oxford* he ſaid, *He did not believe it; He did not expect this from the church of* England, *eſpecially from ſome of them.* He told them, *If he chang'd his mind, they ſhou'd hear from him; if not, he expected his command ſhou'd be obey'd.* He told them, *He was their King, and they ſhou'd feel what it was to diſobey him.* Their anſwer was only, *The will of God be done*; and ſo departed from the court invincible and in a ſort of triumph. And now matters ſeem'd to have been brought to a *criſis*. The King was openly engag'd on his part, and the biſhops on theirs; ſo that all perſons gaz'd with great expectations, concluding that a grand deciſion wou'd be made upon the iſſue of this affair, both of the deſigns of the court, and the temper of the country.

This brave ſtand of the biſhops rais'd a remarkable ſpirit throughout the nation; and the King himſelf was under great difficulties and irreſolutions. Several propoſals of revenge were conſider'd; and after above a fortnight's conſultation, the biſhops were cited to appear before the council. The petition was ſhown to them, and they were aſk'd, *If they own'd it to be theirs?* They anſwer'd, *That as they ſtood there as criminals,*

criminals, they hop'd his majeſty wou'd not preſs them to a confeſſion, that might be turn'd againſt them. But being urg'd two ſeveral times, they own'd the petition, and ſaid they had done *Nothing but what they were ready to juſtify.* Chancellor *Jeffreys* was very ſevere upon their *diſobedience* and *high miſdemeanor*, and ask'd them, *Whether they wou'd give their recognizances to appear before the court of king's bench:* This they all refus'd, and inſiſted upon their *peerages* in ſuch a couragious manner, that they were threatned with the utmoſt rigour of the law, and to be ſent to the *tower.* Being ſtill immoveable, a warrant was preſently ſign'd by the board, which order'd them all to the *tower*, under the denomination of *ſeditious libellers of his majeſty, and his government.*

They are ſent to the Tower.

The ſudden commitment of ſeven worthy prelates, without any appearance of guilt, ſtruck amazement into the city, and threw it into the higheſt fermentation that had ever been remember'd. And leſt the people ſhou'd be too much inrag'd at ſo moving a ſight, they were ſent by water, in the moſt private manner. Yet all along as they paſs'd, the river ſide was throng'd with multitudes of people, who upon their knees crav'd their benedictions, and with loud acclamations extoll'd their conſtancy, and expreſs'd their wiſhes for their preſervation. And which is more, the like reſpect was ſhown to them by the officers and ſoldiers in the *tower*, where they were lodg'd. An univerſal conſternation appear'd in the looks of all people; and hardly any ſeem'd to be unmov'd, but the King and the court, who ſhow'd no other concern, than to order ſome companies of ſoldiers to prevent tumults, and to double the guards of the *tower.*

The Effect of it.

IV. In

The Birth of the Prince of Wales.

IV. In the height of this ſorrowful ſeaſon, a matter of the greateſt joy happen'd to the *romaniſts* and courtiers, the news of the Queen's being deliver'd of a ſon, on *Trinity-Sunday*, the 10th of *June*, a little before ten in the morning. On the ſame day, the lord mayor was order'd to make bonefires, and ſhow all other marks of joy; and likewiſe a proclamation was publiſh'd for a *general thankſgiving* to be ſolemniz'd in all churches throughout *England*, and the biſhop of *Rocheſter* appointed to draw up a form of religious ſervice upon that occaſion. This was celebrated with extraordinary rejoicings by the *popiſh* party; but the *proteſtants* were for the moſt part ſilent and reſerv'd, as feeling a new weight upon them, which they knew not how to remove. The King ſeem'd tranſported, and at the Queen's beb-ſide knighted Dr. *Walgrave* his phyſician, for his skill and particular ſervices; and further to ſhew his ſatisfaction, he made great preſents to ſeveral of his miniſters, and gave conſiderable charities to the poor, both natives and foreigners.

New Addreſſes.

In concluſion, the birth of a royal ſon, which the *jeſuits* call'd *miraculous*, produc'd a new ſet of loyal addreſſes, but not ſo fulſom as the former: For now the fervour was much abated; and no *papiſt* cou'd declare his joy for a prince of *Wales*, but a *proteſtant* was ready to retort upon him, *The biſhops are in the tower.*

Obſervations on it.

As to the certainty of this birth, which occaſion'd endleſs diſputes, opinions and conjectures, enough has been ſaid in the laſt part of *the hiſtory of* England, to which the reader is referr'd. Only it may be proper to obſerve, That, notwithſtanding all arguings to the contrary, the belief of the impoſture ſo increas'd in a ſhort time, that it became almoſt univerſal among the people.

Which

Which belief, tho' crudely ſwallow'd, may without affectation be look'd upon as a juſt recompence from above, for ſo many violations of publick faith. However there is a natural puniſhment that attends thoſe who make frequent and unneceſſary promiſes; which is, not to be believ'd when they deliver, the moſt certain, much more the moſt ſuſpicious truths. In a word, let the truth be on either ſide, the effect was much the ſame in both, according to their oppoſite intereſts. The *romaniſts* believ'd the birth to be real, yet manag'd it as tho' it was an impoſture; the *proteſtants* believ'd it to be an impoſture, yet dreaded it as tho' it was real.

The Inſolence of the Romaniſts.

The triumph was unqueſtionably on the *roman* ſide, and was immediately carry'd on to a higher degree than ever, both in aſſurance and imperiouſneſs; ſo that all things ſeem'd to conſpire towards the ruin of the *proteſtant* intereſt. The prieſts, now elevated with ſtrange hopes and views, were not backwards in putting all their crafty methods in practice, in order to eſtabliſh their religion; and among the reſt, they reviv'd old ſtratagems us'd in the times of ignorance, by ſending out letters to perſons of quality and others, threatning them with ſad conſequences, if they did not ſpeedily reconcile themſelves to the mother church of *Rome*. In a letter from a noted prieſt in *Lincolnſhire*, to a gentleman who had been a particular friend to his party, there are theſe words: "That which was "reaſonable a year ago, is now become neceſſa- "ry; and it cannot be ſuppos'd, that you who "have gone thus far along with us, ſhou'd halt "before the end of the race; but one ſtage more "carries us to the deſir'd haven.——Thoſe "who ſhou'd oppoſe us, are baffled thro' their "own diviſions; they are become ſtupid ani- "mals, only fit for burthens, mere *Machiavel*

A Letter upon that Occaſion.

" *puppits*; we ſtanding unſeen have made them " play our game, when they knew not what " they did: We have decoy'd them into a " ſnare, and we may now come from behind " the curtain to affright them farther.——The " church is reſolv'd to entertain no baſtards, nor " *to give her children's bread to dogs*, as *hereticks* " have been always accounted: They can de- " ſerve nothing from her by their greateſt ſer- " vices.——She is reſolv'd to make a *thorough* " *reformation*; to *cut out the core*, that it cor- " rupt not again. Many conſiderable perſons do " daily declare themſelves: I believe in three or " four months, they will come over to us in " ſuch crowds, that they ſcarce will deſerve " thanks. We are ſtrong enough already to uſe " *force*; but we are willing to diſtinguiſh be- " tween thoſe that come over for *love*, and thoſe " that come over through *fear*.

It was expected by many, and urg'd by ſome, even of the King's friends, That upon the joy of the birth of a prince of *Wales*, his majeſty wou'd, upon this fair occaſion, drop the proſecution againſt the biſhops in the *tower*, and generouſly diſmiſs them. But tho' he had this extraordinary opportunity of obliging the nation, he prov'd inflexible; and ſaid, *His authority wou'd become contemptible, if he ſuffer'd ſuch an affront to paſs unpuniſh'd*; and therefore he reſolv'd to bring them to a trial. Before which they were admitted to bail, and ſo were enlarg'd, to the unexpreſſible joy of the people, who ran to ſee them as *confeſſors*, in ſuch numbers, that occaſion'd them preſently to retire out of ſight.

The King reſolves upon

The Tryal of the Biſhops.

The trial in *Weſtminſter-hall* was great and pompous, attended with a vaſt concourſe of the gentry, and no leſs than thirty lords, beſides infinite throngs about the place, all ſtrangely affected with this ſolemnity. The proceedings againſt

againſt the biſhops were chiefly manag'd by ſolicitor *Williams*, a zealous promoter of the *excluſion* in the reign of King *Charles*, ſpeaker in his two laſt parliaments, and a bold pleader in all cauſes againſt the court. The biſhops council conſiſted of ſeven of the beſt lawyers that cou'd be found, who in this noble cauſe generouſly refus'd all fees or reward. The trial laſted many hours, and the pleadings on both ſides were very curious, but too long to be here mention'd. The arguments for the biſhops gain'd new credit and honour to the pleaders; and in concluſion, the jury, men of worth and conſideration, brought in their lordſhips *not guilty*. For which the ſhouts and acclamations of the people were innumerable, and ſurprizing beyond example, and immediately eccho'd through the cities of *Weſtminſter* and *London*; and not terminating there, flew like lightning to the camp at *Hounſlow-heath*, where the loudneſs of them ſtartled the King, then in the earl of *Feverſham*'s tent. He ſent the earl to know the occaſion of it, who upon enquiry told him, *That it was nothing but the ſoldiers ſhouted at the news of the biſhops being acquitted*. The King reply'd with great diſcompoſure, *And do you call that nothing? but ſo much the worſe for them.*

They are acquitted.

V. Tho' this unexpected turn prov'd a ſenſible mortification to the King, and a ſtrange relief to the ſpirits of the people; yet both ſeem'd to be but temporary: For theſe ſudden overflowings diminiſh'd in a ſhort time, and gradually fell into the former channel. For the King, being provok'd by this and ſome other oppoſitions, was ſo reſolv'd and ſo fatally puſh'd on to his ruin, that he could not be convinc'd of the weakneſs of theſe proceedings. Therefore to ſhow his reſentment, he turn'd out two

The King's Proceedings upon it.

of the judges, who wou'd not ſtand by his cauſe in the late trial; and determin'd that the refuſal of the *order of council* in not reading the *declaration*, ſhou'd be brought before the *eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners*, who were order'd to make a general citation of the clergy, and return a liſt of their names. He proceeded to further acts of *inquiſition*, and endeavour'd to ſound the diſpoſition of his forces by ſea and land; and tho' he there met with ſome very diſcouraging ſymptoms, yet to remedy them *Ireland* was judg'd to be an inexhauſtible ſource for the ſupply and ſecurity of a *romiſh* army.

The Earl of Sunderland's *Advice.*

We are told indeed that the lord *Sunderland* was now for uſing ſofter methods, and had upon that ſubject ſeveral long audiences with the Queen; to whom he repreſented, "That ſince "ſhe had got a ſon, the ſtate of her affairs was "quite chang'd; and that there was no occa- "ſion for making ſuch haſte, now the ſucceſ- "ſion was ſure. He told her, that time wou'd "bring all about, if ſoft methods were us'd; "and adviſ'd her to appear the author of gentle "counſels, which by another adminiſtration "might lay the flame ſo lately kindled, and gain "the hearts of the nation both to herſelf and "her ſon, ſo that ſhe might be declar'd *regent*, "if the King ſhou'd die during the minority of "the prince." Had theſe counſels been practis'd in time, they might have ſecur'd the *romaniſts*, and laid the nation aſleep; but now matters were brought to ſuch a *criſis*, that the *proteſtants* had no hopes of ſecurity. And tho' the court did, for a ſhort time, ſhow ſome inclinations to ſofter methods, yet the prieſts and eccleſiaſticks were more inſolent and triumphant than ever, and upon every occaſion were threatning and prophecying the downfal of the church of *England*. So that *July* and *Auguſt* were diſmal months to thoſe

thoſe who did not know the ſecrets that were under management abroad.

The Caſe of the Engliſh *Conſtitution.*

And now the breaches into the *Engliſh* conſtitution, which many were unwilling to ſee before, became apparent to almoſt all mens eyes. The King had plainly and openly aſſum'd to himſelf a power to make laws void, and to qualify ſuch for employments, who were ſo *incapacitated* by law, as to render all their actings null and void. All unqualify'd perſons, ſheriffs, magiſtrates, and even judges, were now no *legal officers*, inſomuch that the government, and the lawful adminiſtration of it, was quite broken and confounded. All this was brought about by the magick of *diſpenſing power*, which chang'd the whole frame of the *legiſlature*, and reduc'd all laws to the pleaſure of the crown. For by virtue of the ſame power, every diſagreeable ſtatute was liable to be vacated; eſpecially ſince no laws were fortify'd with ſtronger clauſes to force their execution, than thoſe which the late *declaration* had made uſeleſs. And when this was declar'd ſuch a ſacred point of government, that a petition doubting of it, and deliver'd in the moſt modeſt and private manner, was made a high crime, and inflexibly carry'd on againſt the moſt eminent of the church; this convinc'd the moſt doubtful that the breach into the conſtitution was general, deſtructive, and inconſiſtent with the nature of it. The matter was ſo open and avow'd, and continu'd with ſuch regular ſteps and repeated acts, that many of thoſe that had taught the higheſt notions of obedience, were ſenſible that there was ſuch a *total ſubverſion*, as might warrant the nation to guard its conſtitution, and to look out for its own preſervation.

The impending Miſchiefs,

All were ſenſible of the dark cloud that overſpread the nation, and cou'd not avoid feeling the

the difficulties that ſurrounded them. Many had frequently before their eyes the proſpects of perſecution, of fires, racks, and tortures, with which ſome *papiſts* were ſo audacious as to threaten them, and which had been ſufficiently exhibited in the days of Queen *Mary*; the memory of which was increas'd by the late dreadful proceedings againſt the *proteſtants* in *France*. In ſum, the general hardſhips and grievances throughout all the King's dominions were ſo threatning, that all wiſe and knowing men wou'd have rojoiced at any compoſition, and been glad of any part of that deliverance that appear'd afterwards.

And Difficulties of the Nation.

Tho' all were ſenſible of theſe miſchiefs, yet few cou'd think of any ways of relieving and redreſſing them. In order to which they muſt encounter with a reſolute and powerful King, rich in treaſure, and ſtrong in fleets and armies, and in alliance with another more powerful than himſelf, inſomuch that the difficulties ſeem'd inſuperable, which infeebled mens hopes and ſpirits, and ſunk them to the loweſt degree. Theſe miſeries were then viſible and actual; ſo that the people of *England*, too much like thoſe of *Iſrael*, when they were ready to die with thirſt, had little expectation of a deliverance but from above and abroad. Such a one was offer'd from both, and appear'd at ſuch a nicety of time, as made it a diſtinguiſhable happineſs to the nation; which, conſidering the fineneſs of its frame, and the impending dangers, cou'd neither admit of great hurry nor delay: The conſtitution cou'd not bear the former, nor the diſtemper the latter. Others had formerly ſnatched at the fruit to the manifeſt danger of the tree; but now all was brought to ſuch an exact maturity, that it cou'd never have been ſafely gather'd, and fully enjoy'd at any other ſeaſon.

And

And as we have ſhown the ſteps and movements that ripen'd affairs, and brought them to a *criſis*, and a neceſſity of a change; ſo it may be proper now to reſt,— to look a little backwards, abroad as well as at home, above as well as below, and to ſhow ſomething of the beginnings and progreſs of the deliverance itſelf, before it came to be diſcover'd and viſible to the world.

The End of the Firſt Book.

BOOK II.

Containing an Account of the Revolution, from the Beginning to the End of it.

CHAP. I.

From the Beginnings of the Revolution, till it became apparent and visible to the World, in September 1688.

I. NEXT to the divine providence, the prince of *Orange* had the greateſt ſhare in that mighty change that put a period to King *James*'s reign, and the frightful part of *popery*. This prince was deſcended from the ancient and illuſtrious houſe of *Naſſaw*; which family being by marriage united to that of *Orange*, produc'd a race of heroes, who made a more than ordinary figure in *Germany* and the *Netherlands*; out of which latter, they founded and eſtabliſh'd the moſt conſiderable

An Account of the Prince of Orange.

conſiderable republick in *Europe*. The mother to this prince was own ſiſter to the two royal brothers, *Charles* and *James*, a lady of a noble ſoul and princely endowments, who had been a great ſupport and comfort to them in the time of their diſtreſs and exile. The ſudden death of her husband, in the 24th year of his age, and when all her friends were in the loweſt ſtate, threw her into a great conſternation, ſo that in a few days after, ſhe was deliver'd of this prince, when ſhe was but ſeven months gone with child; which was thought to be the cauſe of ſome bodily infirmities or indiſpoſitions that attended him afterwards.

His Birth,

And Education.

In this low condition, the *States-General*, ever jealous of their liberties, took the advantage to deprive him of thoſe dignities which his anceſtors had enjoy'd: And moreover, they impos'd upon his highneſs a governour entirely devoted to the penſioner *De Wit*, and the *Loveſtein* party; who inſtead of cultivating thoſe good qualities he had from nature, endeavour'd to break his generous ſpirit, ſcarce affording him a tutor of any tolerable learning or knowledge of the world. Notwithſtanding this ungenerous education, he ſoon learn'd thoſe parts of *mathematicks*, which related to the military art, and to ſpeak *Engliſh*, *French* and *High-Dutch* almoſt as fluently as his mother-tongue. He alſo diſcover'd an heroick ſpirit, and a paſſionate deſire of following the ſteps of his great predeceſſors; tho' ſtill his diſtinguiſhing qualities ſeem'd to be *reſervedneſs* and *moderation*. So that in his youth he gave uncommon hopes to his friends, and before he was fifteen, he was nicely obſerv'd by Mr. *St. Evremond*, who declar'd, *That a perſon of his age and quality was never maſter of ſo good a* turn *of wit.*

After

After he had been long depreſs'd, he by the affections of the people gain'd upon the *States* at eighteen, when he was choſen firſt nobleman of *Zealand*, and had a place given him in the *council of ſtate*. In the twentieth year of his age, he took a reſolution to go for *England* in the year 1670; both upon the account of former debts due to him, and to ſee what offices the King his uncle wou'd do towards his re-eſtabliſhment in the *Stadtholderſhip*. At the court of *England* he was much admir'd; and the lord *Arlington* writing to the *Engliſh* ambaſſador in *Spain*, ſays, "The prince of *Orange* "hath been now three weeks among us, much "to the ſatisfaction of the King, and all that "have ſeen him; *being a young man of the moſt* "*extraordinary underſtanding and parts.*" Tho' he was nobly entertain'd by the city of *London* and the two univerſities, yet he did not receive any great ſatisfaction from the King; who, it ſeems, a little unaccountably diſcover'd to him his affection to the *popiſh* religion, and in ſuch terms, as it very much ſurpriz'd ſo young a prince. He told his diſcourſe but to one perſon, but otherwiſe kept it as a great ſecret during all the King's life: However, it made ſuch an impreſſion upon him, that from that time he had a particular eye and regard to the affairs of *England*, and the actions of his uncle. *He goes to* England.

When this prince was twenty two years of age, he met with an opportunity of exerting and diſplaying his abilities to the utmoſt. And this was by the rapid courſe of the *French* King's conqueſts in 1672, which flow'd in with ſuch an over-bearing torrent, as threatned ruin and extirpation to the whole republick of the *United Provinces*. The terror of which caus'd the *States-General* to fly to him for ſuccour, to make him captain-general, and admiral of their forces, *The* States *apply to him.*

forces, and to reſtore him to the dignity of *Stadtholder*, together with ſome advantages ſuperior to what had been exercis'd by his anceſtors. Theſe deſerved poſts gave new hopes to the remaining provinces, union to the ſtates, and courage to the armies; inſomuch that he was apply'd to with great invitations from the King of *France*, and his uncle of *England*. He was promis'd, if he wou'd depend upon them, he ſhou'd be made ſoveraign of the *Seven Provinces*, under the protection of *England* and *France*. When this was offer'd by the former, at the time when he cou'd have little hopes of ſucceſs, he anſwer'd, *He wou'd never betray a truſt repoſed in him, nor ever ſell the liberty of that country, which his anceſtors had ſo long defended.* And when the ambaſſadors of the latter told him *his country was loſt*, and wonder'd *he ſhould undertake a cauſe ſo deſperate*, he reply'd, *he was ſenſible it was in great danger; but there was one ſure way never to ſee it loſt, and that was to die in the laſt ditch.*

His ſteadineſs,

By which he ſaves his Country.

Accordingly, with a ſteadineſs beyond his years, he undertook to aſſert the glory of his predeceſſors; and, like another young *Scipio*, reſolv'd to ſave his country by abandoning it. Therefore leaving the chief poſts guarded with a part of his army, he march'd with the reſt into *Germany*, and joining with part of the *Imperialiſts*, laid ſiege to *Bonne*, then in the hands of the *French*. The boldneſs of this attempt ſurpriz'd all men, but the ſucceſs diſcover'd the prudence, as well as the courage of it; for by that means he open'd a paſſage for the *German* forces over the *Rhine*, and into *Flanders*, which gave ſuch a diverſion and damp to the deſign and progreſs of the *French*, that they abandon'd moſt of their conqueſts with greater celerity than they made them.

To

To give a particular account of this, and ſome following campaigns, wou'd be a work of a large hiſtory. In which, tho' by the powerfulneſs of the *French*, the negligence of the *Spaniards*, and the backwardneſs of the *Engliſh*, he was not always ſucceſsful; yet he gain'd himſelf unqueſtionable honour in ſeveral actions. Upon the battle of *Seneffe*, 1674, count *de Zouch*, the *German* general, in his letter to the *States*, ſays, "That in the whole courſe "of the action, the prince had ſhew'd the "conduct of an aged commander, the courage "of a *Cæſar*, and the undaunted bravery of a "*Marius*." The prince of *Conde* himſelf gave him this teſtimony, *That he had done like an old captain in all, but only in venturing himſelf too much like a young man*; in both which he himſelf was remarkable that day. Sir *Richard Bulſtrode*, then envoy at the court of *Bruſſels*, in a letter to the lord *Arlington*, has theſe words. "It is acknowledged by all perſons, that the "courage and the conduct of the prince of "*Orange* was that day to be admir'd, who "flew from one part of the field to another, "not only to encourage his men, but from the "firſt to the laſt of the ſeveral engagements, "and in the heat of every attack, was the "foremoſt, and has thereby gain'd immortal "honour." In a ſecond letter to the ſame perſon, he ſays, "Never general more endea-"vour'd to put an army in good order, or took "more pains or was more diligent in that great "ſtation, than his highneſs; being ſo indefati-"gable in his perſon, of ſo excellent a temper, "ſo valiant againſt his enemies, and ſo obliging "to his whole army, that he is in general "cry'd up for the moſt hopeful prince living, "and that he is like to be a greater general "than any of his anceſtors." Theſe undeni-

His Military Character.

able

able evidences may ſerve for his character as to his military abilities, and his capacity of undertaking the greateſt attempts and enterprizes.

A Treaty of Marriage,

Before the finiſhing the war, and during the treaty of a peace, which was long depending at *Nimeguen*, this prince enter'd upon a different treaty, the moſt grateful imaginable to the people of *England*; and this was of a marriage between him and the princeſs *Mary*, eldeſt daughter to the duke of *York*, a glorious lady, not much above fifteen years of age. This being a matter that was like to meet with great difficulty, was begun and carry'd on with great ſecrecy, and all along manag'd with no leſs skill by the earl of *Danby* and ſir *William Temple*, at a juncture of time when the King wanted the good-will and aſſiſtance of his parliament. So that the King was ſoon argued into the match, and the duke as ſoon commanded into it; the former ſeem'd pleas'd, and the latter ready to ſhow his obedience.

Concluded between him and the Princeſs Mary.

The prince, being at court upon other pretenſions, was call'd in, and the marriage preſently declar'd in council. This news was highly ſurprizing and joyful to all perſons but the *French* ambaſſador and his party, who us'd all poſſible methods to divert the conſummation. The *French* King upon hearing of it, cou'd not help ſhowing his reſentment to *Mountague*, the *Engliſh* ambaſſador, as tho' his maſter had forſaken him, and of the duke he ſaid, *He had given his daughter to the greateſt enemy he had in the world.* Upon the ambaſſador's return, the lord *Danby* ask'd him how the King of *France* receiv'd the news; he anſwer'd, *As he wou'd have done the loſs of an army, and ſpoke very hardly of the duke for not acquainting him with it.* Lord *Danby* anſwer'd, *He wrong'd him; for he*

he did not know of it an hour before it was publiſh'd, and the King himſelf not above two hours. This was a maſter-piece in the earl, who ſince he was duke of *Leeds*, has declar'd in print, *That he will not ſuffer that part of his ſervice to be bury'd in oblivion:* A part that wou'd never be forgiven by the duke and the *romiſh* party.

II. From the time of this marriage, which was in the latter end of the year 1677, the intereſt of the prince of *Orange* appear'd greater and better eſtabliſh'd than ever. He was now look'd upon as the head of the *proteſtant* intereſt in *Europe*, and the greateſt check to the overgrowing power of *France*, which he deſir'd to ſee *well bounded, but not deſtroy'd.* His remote relation to the crown of *England* had caus'd him to be invited thither, to help to redreſs grievances, in the laſt *Dutch* war; but now having marry'd the preſumptive heir to that crown, he had a nearer view of ſovereignty; and as the eyes of the *Engliſh* were continually upon his proceedings, ſo were his upon their affairs, and upon the various ſteps of his two royal uncles. Tho' little application was made to him, during the reſt of King *Charles*'s reign, yet he found that neither he nor his princeſs were foget by the parliament of *England*, in the great ſtruggle about the excluſion of the duke of *York* his father-in-law. *His Intereſt.*

Upon the arrival of this laſt to the throne, the prince began to be further conſider'd in *England*, and in proportion to the wrong ſteps and miſmanagements of that King; with whom he preſerv'd a fair correſpondence and friendſhip, for above three years, till he was forc'd to diſcover his opinion concerning the *penal laws* and *teſts.* He was ſeveral times apply'd to from *England*, as the grievances increas'd, and urg'd to interpoſe, *The Encreaſe of it.*

poſe, or make a breach with that King; particularly upon the ſetting up the illegal *court of commiſſion*, and more ſtrenuouſly upon the bold proceedings againſt *Magdalen* college. But tho' his inclinations might tend that way, yet he ſeem'd not to believe that matters were ſufficiently ripen'd for the uſe of violent methods, and therefore he did little more than to examine into the ſeveral forces of *Holland*, and put them in as good a condition as was conſiſtent with that ſecrecy and taciturnity which were ſo peculiar to him.

A further Character of him.

And here occaſion may be taken to add ſomething to the former character given of him; and to take notice that he was ſo exact and well guarded in his ſecrets, that his great enemy, the *French* King, acknowledg'd, *That in the cabinet he was the greateſt man in* Europe. And upon the news of his death at *Verſailles*, he ſaid by way of character, *That prince, when in* Holland, *was always impenetrable as to his deſigns*. But as to his own penetration, a great lord who had five years intimacy with him in *England* ſaid, *No man underſtood the affairs of* Europe *better than himſelf*; adding, *Had he been a ſubject, he wou'd have been the ableſt miniſter of ſtate in* Europe. As to religion, tho' much neglected in his education, he was carefully brought up in the *Calvinian* principles, and had ſtrong notions of *abſolute decrees* and *predeſtination*. Yet with relation to the church of *England*, he declar'd in *Holland*, that he approv'd of their worſhip, and their church government, as much better than the *parity* of the *presbyterians*, of whom he ſtill retain'd a good opinion. As to his private character, as he had not the moſt healthful conſtitution, ſo he was not always thought the beſt natur'd man. His education and acquaintance made him affable and obliging to the *Dutch*, and agreeable

agreeable to their genius; but not equally ſo to that of the *Engliſh*; which perhaps is a reaſon why he was not always ſo well belov'd, as he deſerv'd.

Tho' this prince, by means of his marriage might have ſufficient views of a crown from *England*, eſpecially before the hopes of the Queen's pregnancy; yet ſtill he labour'd under one difficulty, and ſeem'd to be uneaſy under that expectation, and not ſo forward to undertake any enterprize *purely* upon that account. He had reſolv'd within himſelf, as he ſaid afterwards, *Not to be a gentleman king*, to hold a crown by the courteſy of his wife, and to have a *titular kingdom*, without he might be ſecur'd in it for his life. This was a ſecret reſolve, which he had not the courage to diſcover to his princeſs for nine years together. But in this he was happily reliev'd by Dr. *Burnet*, then at the *Hague*, who in a private diſcourſe with the princeſs, ventur'd upon this nice ſubject, and upon examination, found ſhe was all obedience, and ready to allow the *natural rights* of a husband, and decline the *civil rights* of a ſovereign. Accordingly the next time ſhe ſaw the prince, ſhe with all freedom and good humour told him, *She did not know that the laws of* England *were ſo contrary to the laws of God, as Dr.* Burnet *had inform'd her: She did not think that the husband was ever to be obedient to his wife; and promis'd him, he ſhou'd always bear rule.* She only deſir'd, *That he wou'd obey the command of* husbands love your wives, *as ſhe wou'd do that of* wives be obdient to your husbands in all things. With this lively introduction ſhe open'd her mind to him ſo fully and eaſily, as ever after gave him ſatisfaction.

A Difficulty removed.

The Character of Dr. Burnet.

This ſtory may give ſome little light into the character, both of the princeſs, and of the divine. The latter was an eminent *Scotchman*, who after he had made a conſiderable figure in his own country, and ſome others, ſettled in *England*, where at court he was receiv'd and treated after a free and diſtinguiſhing manner by the two royal brothers. But in length of time, either for ſecretly oppoſing, or rather for deeply penetrating into the meaſures of the court, he was diſcharg'd and diſgrac'd by one King, and in effect baniſh'd and proſcrib'd by the other. This, after ſome further travels, and new improvements, brought him into *Holland*, where he became a naturaliz'd ſubject to the *States-General*; and a principal favourite to the prince and princeſs of *Orange*, to whom he ſhew'd ſo much familiarity on one ſide, and ſo much zeal and induſtry on the other, that ſome thought *it was hard to know which had the ſuperiority, the freedom he took, or the ſervices he perform'd.* The latter were ſurely great, and of high importance, and the natural effects of an acute head, an unweary'd labour, and an unlimited knowledge of mankind. The character of a man of ſo various a genius, and of ſuch different qualities, is too large for this place: It is enough to be remember'd, that the many occaſional pamphlets that he wrote and diſpers'd in the *Engliſh* nation, made a wonderful impreſſion upon that people, and ſtrangely ripen'd matters towards the great change at laſt. Inſomuch that when *Albyville* came envoy from the *Engliſh* court to the *Hague*, his firſt inſtructions was to get this dangerous man for ever baniſh'd from the preſence of both their highneſſes. This had its effect, but ſtill the prince kept ſuch a cloſe correſpondence with him, as anſwer'd all purpoſes, by which means he became ſo great an inſtrument in the revolution, that

that all who have hated the one, have abhorr'd the name of the other.

As to the princeſs, ſhe was all that was great and amiable, noble and delightful; and ſuch a mixture of ſweetneſs and dignity was rarely to be found in one perſon. She was a lady ſo ſignal in her unaffected piety and devotion, and all particular virtues, that ſhe became a pleaſing example to all that ſaw her. She had not a large revenue to expreſs her generous diſpoſition, yet by ſparing her private income as to herſelf, ſhe became eminent in her charities; which ſhe beſtow'd in ſuch a graceful and a condeſcending manner, as added highly to the obligation. So that in a little time ſhe gain'd the love and affection of the *Hollanders* to the utmoſt degree, and became the very delight of the country. All this was extreamly pleaſing to the prince, who, tho' he was not the moſt indulgent husband to her, had the higheſt eſteem for her, and cou'd ſooner forgive the greateſt indignity offerr'd to himſelf, than the leaſt offerr'd to her. At his firſt arrival at *Holland*, after he was King, when he was receiv'd by the crowds and acclamations of the *Dutch*, the earl of *Nottingham*, then with him, congratulated his majeſty for being ſo belov'd in his country. The King reply'd, *Ah, my lord, if my Queen was but here, you wou'd ſee the difference; where they give one ſhout for me, they wou'd give ten for her.* And after her death he ſaid, amongſt other commendations of her, *That ſhe had been his wife ſeventeen years, and yet he never knew her guilty of one indiſcretion.*

The Character of the Princeſs of Orange.

A more compleat character may probably appear to another work, yet ſomething more is proper to be added here. She read much, both in hiſtory and divinity, and upon every occaſion ſhew'd a clear head, and an excellent underſtanding. As to her religion, ſhe cloſely ad-

her'd to the church of *England*, as eſtabliſh'd in that nation, in which ſhe was educated and confirm'd by the noble biſhop of *London*, with whom ſhe held a generous correſpondence by letters and otherways, gratefully remembring the benefits ſhe had receiv'd from him. Tho' ſhe was ſo well determin'd in her opinions, ſhe ſhew'd a particular tenderneſs to the *proteſtant diſſenters*, and was willing that a reaſonable *toleration* ſhou'd extend to all; but was irremoveably reſolv'd to preſerve thoſe boundaries and fences againſt *popery*, that had been thrown up of late years, which ſufficiently appear'd in *Fagel*'s letter before mention'd. At the ſame time her father made freſh attacks upon her by letters, *&c.* to engage her not only to tolerate, but to embrace the *catholick faith*, as he term'd it; all which ſhe not only couragiouſly reſiſted, but ſo ſtrongly anſwer'd, without the aſſiſtance of others, as ſhew'd that ſhe underſtood her religion as well as ſhe lov'd it. Therefore it is no wonder, that, when matters were ripe, ſhe ſhou'd join in a cauſe that ſeem'd ſo contrary to filial duty, as well as natural affection. Theſe, in ſpite of all reproaches, ſhe retain'd to the laſt; but the *cauſe*, ſhe fully believ'd was ſuperior to all relations and kindred, and ſuch as ſhe ſhew'd both by her diſcourſes, and her writings, ſhe cou'd maintain againſt all oppoſers.

Steps towards the Revolution.

III. In the memorable year 1688. the above-mention'd *cauſe* began to open, and in a ſhort time to ſhew its ſelf in its full ſtrength and luſtre; both with reſpect to foreign countries, as well as the *Britiſh* dominions. A concurrency of uncommon circumſtances had made a revolution neceſſary, or very eligible to many parts of *Europe*, as well as *England*; without which it wou'd not have been brought about by

by any thing leſs than a miracle. But ſtill, under providence, it was effected by means of an unexampled diligence and ſecrecy on one ſide, and an imagin'd ſecurity, if not an infatuation, on the other.

State of Affairs in Europe.

As this ſtrange turn depended ſo very much on foreign motions and accidents, unforeſeen and unexpected; ſo to lay open the greatneſs, as well as the boldneſs of the attempt, it is neceſſary to take a ſhort view of the ſtate of the neighbouring countries, and more diſtant powers. Of theſe, *France* was much the more conſiderable: The vaſt ſcheme of making that kingdom the ſeat of univerſal empire, which had been form'd by *Richlieu*, and purſu'd by *Mazarine*, was ſo ſucceſsfully proſecuted, that its arms had for many years been the terror of *Europe*; the progreſs of which cou'd not really be ſtemm'd, but by the aſſiſtance of *England*. It is generally believ'd that *Cromwell* might eaſily have diverted this torrent in the beginning; but having an intereſt diſtinct from that of his own country, he open'd the main paſſages to it. King *Charles* the ſecond ſeem'd willing to have drawn his ſword in the defence of *Flanders*; but ſometimes his hands, and other times his inclinations were ſo bound, that at laſt he choſe to ſubmit to a more eaſy and paſſive way. The preſent King *James* had ſeveral conſiderations to induce him not to interrupt the outward peace, that the neighbouring parts of *Europe* enjoy'd, ſince the treaty of *Nimeguen*. But that peace being by others look'd upon as precarious, and of no longer continuance than the *French* thought convenient, they believ'd an honourable war to be more eligible; at leaſt they thought it wiſeſt to enter upon meaſures for the common ſafety, in caſe of a rupture.

The Power of France.

The Activity of the Prince of Orange.

At the head of theſe counſels the prince of *Orange* always appear'd, to whom war and activity was the greateſt pleaſure. But ſtill he had a peculiar felicity from the preſent ſituation of affairs, that whatever might poſſibly be the effects of temper and ambition, ſeem'd purely the reſult of accident and neceſſity; and the high pretenſions of reſtoring the balance of power, and the invaded liberties of oppreſs'd nations, muſt at leaſt give a beautiful varniſh to all his undertakings. After many great actions, and the finiſhing the peace at *Nimeguen*, he became the chief inſtrument in forming the *League of Ausburg* againſt *France*, thereby to bring in all the forces of the confederates upon that monarch, and kept him in diverſion, in caſe he ſhou'd attempt to break his deſigns by turning his arms againſt the *Hollanders*. On the other ſide, he repreſented to the houſe of *Auſtria*, "The ambitious deſigns of the *French* King, "and how eaſily he might make himſelf uni- "verſal monarch, if he were ſupported by the "crown of *England*, which for five hundred "years had held the balance of *Europe:*" Adding, "That it was not the advancement of "the *catholick* religion which the King of "*France* had in view, but the agrandizing his "power; ſince at the ſame time he perſecuted "his *proteſtant* ſubjects, and favour'd the growth "of *popery* in *England*, he countenanced count "*Tekely* in *Hungary*, and made a particular al- "liance with the *Turks*.

Joins with the Emperor and King of Spain.

The pope was then in confederacy with the emperor and the King of *Spain*, who plainly ſaw the ſtrength of theſe reaſonings; and the two latter more ſenſibly, becauſe all endeavours of their miniſters to bring the King of *England* into the *German* league againſt *France*, had prov'd ineffectual. Among others, the *Spaniſh* am-

ambaſſador; *de Ronquillo*, a perſon who beſt knew the *Engliſh* genius and conſtitution, made uſe of the ſtrongeſt arguments to engage him to break with *France*; aſſuring him, "That "nothing cou'd more endear him to his *prote-* "*ſtant*, nor more powerfully incline his parlia- "ment to give eaſe to his *catholick* ſubjects." But that King was ſo attach'd to the intereſt of *France*, that he anſwer'd the ambaſſador, *He would faithfully obſerve the alliance he had made with his maſter; but he was as religiouſly oblig'd to preſerve the amity that was between him and the King of* France, *his near relation: He deſired to live in peace with all his neighbours, and would endeavour to continue it amongſt them.* The courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* ſaw the tendency of this unſatisfactory anſwer; and therefore both the emperor and his catholick majeſty became more diſpos'd to hearken to all propoſals made to them by the prince of *Orange*, not only againſt King *Lewis*, but againſt King *James*, his aſſur'd ally.

A Confederacy againſt France.

Theſe were the confederacies form'd againſt *France*; but all that cou'd be got together were too light, without the weight of *England* in the ſcale, therefore it was neceſſary that all means ſhou'd be us'd to ſecure that. *France* was then a monarchy in the moſt flouriſhing condition, abounding in riches and plenty, numerous forces, gallant troops and experienc'd officers; and all at the command of a prince as well inclin'd and qualify'd for vaſt atchievements, as ever ſat upon that throne.

State of the Empire.

As to the confederates, the empire was a large and unweildy body, which appear'd robuſt and nervous, and great in figure; but ſtill was feeble in the joints, and the bulky limbs were ill and unequally compacted by irremediable errors in its conſtitution. And the emperor himſelf

ſelf was ſtill ingag'd in a tedious war with the *Turkiſh* empire, which though carry'd on with honour and ſucceſs of late years, had nevertheleſs quite exhauſted his treaſure.

Of Spain, *Spain*, tho' of vaſt extent in its dominions, had for almoſt a century of years languiſh'd under a conſumptive decay, and wanted active ſpirits to keep up her declining vitals, much more to revive and ſupport her diſtants parts; which ſufficiently appear'd by the inability to ſave *Luxemburgh* from the *French*, and to ſecure *Flanders* from other impreſſions made there ſince the late peace.

And of Holland. *Holland* and the *United Provinces*, tho' healthy and vigorous in appearance, were yet unable to ſecure themſelves without better ſeconds and ſupporters: So that all the former efforts of the prince of *Orange* were by himſelf compar'd to thoſe of *a weak ſculler againſt an eddy*. However he appear'd indefatigable, tho' working againſt the ſtream. Therefore it is no wonder if an impatient ſenſe of the difficulties he had to encounter, and an ambition of heading a force ſufficient to curb the power of *France*, and ſnatch the laurels from that monarch's brow, ſhou'd raiſe his inclinations even to a crown, which an unuſual concurrence of affairs had conſpir'd to place upon his head. But theſe are matters of conjecture, more than certainty. Yet we may with leſs conjecture ſay, that very few wiſe perſons, barely for the ſake of a crown, wou'd have ventur'd ſuch imminent hazards, when nothing but ſuch an unforeſeen concurrence cou'd have ſecur'd him from the greateſt diſgrace and miſchief, that cou'd have happen'd to a man of his ſpirit.

IV. In

IV. In this ſummer, the ſtate of all theſe powers began to appear in a precarious condition, and affairs were brought to a *criſis* there, as well as in *England*. For *France*, under the ſhelter of a peace, was daily making incroachments upon her neighbours; and the taking of *Luxemburgh* on one ſide, and fortifying *Traerbach* on the other, made her more formidable both to *Spain* and the empire. But there happen'd an accident at this time, that brought on an open rupture, and this was the death of the elector of *Cologn* and biſhop of *Liege*, &c. upon the ſecond day of *June*. During the vacancy of thoſe two ſees, cardinal *Furſtemburg*, guardian of their temporalities, and a creature of *France*, brought *French* garriſons into *Bonne* and *Liege*, and into all other places belonging to the late elector. By which means the two great rivers, the *Rhine* and the *Maes*, the chief ſecurities of the *States of Holland*, by one of which the *French* King had formerly invaded, and almoſt ruin'd them, were now both poſſeſs'd by a *French* power, which muſt needs be very formidable to the *Dutch*.

The Opening of the great War in Europe.

As to the electorate, the two candidates for it were young prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*, brother to the elector of that name, whoſe intereſt was ſupported by *Germany*; and this cardinal *Furſtemberg*, whoſe pretenſions were as ſtrongly eſpous'd by the crown of *France*. After great ſtruggles, the former, tho' with fewer votes, carry'd it; and the election was regularly confirm'd by the pope, who ſeem'd ready to joyn in any thing that might mortify the *French* King. It is thought by many, that his carrying this point, wou'd have ſecur'd his ſon, the *Dauphine*, to be elected *King of the Romans* in *Germany*, which might have compleated the deſign

The Occaſion of it.

ſign of univerſal empire. However it was, the deſign here appear'd but little, and the reaſons for a breach, given in the *French* King's *manifeſto*, appear'd ſtill leſs. So the greateſt events often ariſe from inconſiderable beginnings.

It is begun by the French *King.*

Before the *manifeſto* was publiſh'd, he broke the twenty years truce with the empire, and enter'd upon a ſudden invaſion, and one of the moſt cruel wars that had happen'd in this part of the world. This being carry'd on with full reſentment, beſides the immenſe ſums paid for contributions, it coſt *Germany* in a little time no leſs than the loſs of the fortreſs of *Philipſburgh*, taken by the *Dauphine* in perſon; and then *Manheim*, *Spire*, *Mentz*, *Creutznach*, *Baccarach*, *Heidelburg*, and ſeveral other places as far as *Hailbron*. And thus was reviv'd that terrible war that begun in the year 1672, which was cover'd, rather than extinguiſh'd in 1678, and now began to rage more than ever, and without any intermiſſion, till the peace at *Ryſwick*, nine years after.

It makes way for the Revolution.

V. This breach open'd a new ſcene of action, and brought a new turn of affairs, that prov'd highly neceſſary, or wonderfully commodious for the relief of *England*. In this nice juncture, the prince of *Orange* was more particularly encourag'd from thence to form his great deſigns; and this very juncture made his propoſals ſo eligible and feaſible, as to ſet the *roman* court in oppoſition to the church of *Rome*, and to make even the *Pope*, the houſe of *Auſtria*, and his *catholick* majeſty to concur towards the ſecurity of the *proteſtant* religion in *England*.

Applications to the Prince of Orange.

As matters grew ripe in *England*, many lords, perſons of quality and others, made their applications to the prince of *Orange*, and a ſecret corre-

correſpondence was maintain'd for ſome time between them and the court of the *Hague*, whither gentlemen were continually going, and ſome conſtantly reſiding to ſupport and cultivate it, as Mr. *Sidney*, brother to the earl of *Leiceſter*, ſir *Robert Peyton*, ſir *Rowland Gwyn*, Dr. *Burnet*, and others. In the month of *July*, one *Joſeph Flight* brought over near fourſcore letters, to as many of the prime nobility and gentry, and carry'd back anſwers with great diſpatch and ſafety. The lord *Wharton*, tho' advanc'd in years, contriv'd a journey through *Holland* to *Germany*; Mr. *Sidney*, went to the *Spaw*, under pretence of only drinking the waters; and the lord *Dunblain*, a brave couragious ſea-man, who commanded an independent frigate, together with Mr. *Johnſtone*, and ſome others, croſs'd and recroſs'd the ſeas, to carry ſeveral diſpatches and reſolutions. The earl of *Shrewsbury*, an eminent convert from the *romiſh* religion, having mortgag'd his eſtate for a vaſt ſum, firſt went over to the prince, with the offer both of his ſword and his purſe. He was follow'd by admiral *Herbert*, Mr. *Herbert* his couſin, Mr. *Ruſſel*, the lord *Mordaunt*, and the earl of *Wiltſhire*.

The Perſons concern'd.

Then as to thoſe others in *England*, who aſſiſted in this great work, we are firſt to mention the earl of *Danby*. A man of a vaſt reach, and born for great attempts, who had as great a ſhare in this, as he had in the marriage of the princeſs of *Orange*; next the earl of *Devonſhire*, the earl of *Dorſet*, the lord *Lovelace*, the lord *Delemere*, the duke of *Norfolk*, the marquis of *Halifax*, and his ſon the lord *Eland*, the marquis of *Wincheſter*, the lord *Pawlet* his ſon, the lord *Willoughby*, ſon to the earl *Lindſey*, Mr. *Lyſter*, Mr. *Hamden*, Mr. *Powle*, &c. beſides ſeveral eminent citizens in *London*. There were many

many others, who were well-wiſhers to it, and were let into the ſecret of the deſign; but ſtill were more cautious and reſerv'd as to action, as being apprehenſive of the great hazard attending it.

The Caution of the Prince of Orange.

Not only the hazard attending it, but the grounds for undertaking of it, were long and ſedately conſider'd by the prince of *Orange* himſelf, before he wou'd fully reſolve upon it. When the matter was open'd to him by degrees, and afterwards urg'd home to him in the month of *May*, he ſaid, *He muſt ſatisfy both his honour and conſcience, before he cou'd enter upon ſo great a deſign; which, if it miſcarried, muſt bring ruin both to* England *and* Holland: He proteſted, *That no private ambition, nor particular reſentment cou'd prevail upon him to make a breach with ſo near a relation, or engage in a war, of which the conſequence muſt be of the laſt imporance, both to the intereſts of* Europe, *and the* proteſtant *religion: Therefore he expected more formal and direct invitations.* But when he was told of the *danger of truſting ſuch a ſecret to great numbers*; he reply'd, *That if ſuch a ſufficient number of men, as might be ſuppos'd to underſtand THE SENSE OF THE NATION, wou'd do it, he wou'd acquieſce in it.* Such did appear ſoon after the birth of the prince of *Wales*, and the tryal of the biſhops; when the arrival of *Zuyleſtein* brought him ſuch advices from *England*, of the fermentation of the nation, and the diſcontents in the army, as fully and finally fix'd him in his purpoſe.

Applications to the States.

The perſons that invited this prince, found it neceſſary alſo to make application to ſeveral leading members of the *States-General*, to whom they warmly repreſented, " How nearly they " were concern'd in what then paſs'd in *Eng-*

" *land*;

" *land*; which was but one branch of the de-
" ſigns carry'd on by the *French* King and his
" adherents, for enſlaving *Europe*, and extirpa-
" ting what they call'd the *northern hereſy*, both
" in name and thing." They ſhew'd them,
" That if they ſuffer'd the conſpiracy of the
" common enemies to proceed, they wou'd be
" involv'd in the ruin of *England*, and muſt
" ſoon fall under the *French* yoke, of which
" they had felt the weight in 1672; and had
" lately heard more of it from the multitudes of
" *French proteſtants* who had taken refuge in
" their country: And inſiſted how glorious it
" wou'd be for them to become the *ſanctuary of*
" *oppreſſed innocence*." They recollected to them what had formerly been done for their republick by the *Engliſh* nation, " When they had
" newly caſt off the *Spaniſh* tyranny, and were
" forc'd to implore the ſuccour of their neigh-
" bours againſt a power, which then carry'd on
" the ſame deſigns, and by the ſame methods,
" which of late had been copy'd from them by
" the *French*." They convinc'd them, " That
" all reaſons of *gratitude*, *humanity*, *policy*, and
" *chriſtianity*, concurr'd to incline them to a
" compliance, in giving their aſſiſtance to the
" fixing a bank to that torrent, which other-
" wiſe wou'd overflow all *chriſtendom*. That
" the buſineſs wou'd admit of no delay; ſince
" if they ſlipp'd this opportunity, by the *French*
" King's turning his forces to the *Upper Rhine*
" againſt *Philipsburgh*; if they miſs'd this *ſeaſon-*
" *able occaſion* of helping *England*, it wou'd be
" too late to attempt any thing hereafter: The
" two Kings hoping in a ſhort time to put both
" the *Dutch* and the *Engliſh* beyond the power
" of diſputing their pleaſure.

The

They and the Prince comply.

The *States-General* had ſufficient reaſon to hearken to theſe and the like arguments. Private notice had been two years before given to them of a projected alliance between the two kings of *England* and *France*, who, together with the pope, were to join in the cauſe of the *catholick church*, and begin with the deſtruction of *Holland*. This was propos'd by the *Engliſh* ambaſſador, then at *Rome*; but was ſo ſurprizing to the pope, who hated the grandeur of *France*, that he diſcover'd it to the *imperial* miniſters, and ſo to the emperor, who did the ſame to the prince of *Orange*. This, tho' remote, and then contrary to the opinion of his holineſs, was enough to make them conſider, and provide for their ſecurity. And tho' this extraordinary project did not take place, yet they had reaſon to believe that ſuch an *alliance* was in being, as made it neceſſary to begin with one of the two monarchs, at this threatning juncture, and in common reaſon with him that cou'd make leaſt oppoſition.

Their Preparations.

So without further heſitation, the *States-General* reſolv'd to lend their beſt troops to the prince of *Orange*; and accordingly the forces were order'd to rendezvous near *Nimeguen*, not far from the camp of the elector of *Brandenburgh*, who had march'd his army thither, to act in conjunction with the confederates, now alarm'd by the *Dauphin*'s hoſtility in *Germany*. The prince himſelf, under the pretence of the affair of *Cologn*, had juſt before aſſiſted at an enterview, and a long conference held at *Menden* in *Weſtphalia*, between the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, the landgrave of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, and the princeſs of *Lunenburgh* and *Zell*: In which all meaſures were concerted, both for the delivery of *England*, as well as the depreſſion of *France*.

Umbrage taken at it.

Tho' this was manag'd with all art and caution, yet this interview, and the prince's frequent jour-

journies to the army near *Nimeguen*, ſoon gave alarm to the count *d'Avaux* and the marquis of *Albyville*, miniſters of *France* and *England*, reſiding at the *Hague*. Which increas'd, upon another interview between him and the governour of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, on the frontiers, wherein matters were concerted for the defence of thoſe provinces, upon the abſence of the prince. His friends reported, "It was only about ſome affairs, depending between his highneſs and the "count *de Solre*, concerning certain lands in the "dependency of *Conde*; *France* having undertaken "the defence of that count;" whereas the true reaſon of that interview, and all the extraordinary motions of the prince at that time was unknown to the world.

The ſecret Management.

Theſe were carry'd on in *July* and *Auguſt*; and tho' in the laſt of theſe months, *D'Albyville* went over to *London* to give an acccount of affairs in *Holland*, yet ſo diſtant were the counſels of this prince, that King *James* had then no manner of notice of his intentions. To diſguiſe which his highneſs had the happineſs to make uſe of the rupture between *France* and the empire, as a fair colour for his military preparations. And indeed the whole expedition was carry'd on with a ſecrecy ſo exact and well guarded, as fully confirm'd the character which experience had extorted from the *French* King, *That he was impenetrable as to his deſigns.*

Having detach'd from his own, and the elector of *Brandenburgh*'s camp, what forces he thought proper for his expedition, which he deſign'd ſhou'd make him look more like a *deliverer* than a *conqueror*; the King of *Sweden* generouſly offerr'd to ſupply the *States* with an equal number of troops; otherwiſe they cou'd hardly have ſpared ſuch an army abroad, when they were threaten'd by a very formidable enemy at home.

While

While all methods were taken to procure a ſufficient number of land forces, orders were carefully ſent to the ſeveral cities of *Holland*, to have ſuch a number of ſhips of war, and a proper number of tranſports in readineſs on a certain day. This was executed with all chearfulneſs and expedition, eſpecially when the deſign of the enterprize came to be known. For tho' it was one of the boldeſt that cou'd be imagin'd, yet ſcarce any man in *Holland*, excepting *papiſts*, was heard to murmur, either at the expence or the hazard of it. And they appear'd ſo ſenſible of the neceſſity of it, that men, women, and children offerr'd up their prayers to heaven for the ſucceſs of his highneſs, and the *proteſtant* cauſe.

The Readineſs of the Dutch.

All this while, the count *D' Avaux*, the *French* ambaſſador at the *Hague*, kept a watchful eye upon the motions of the prince of *Orange*, and by degrees diſcover'd that theſe preparations muſt certainly be intended againſt *England*. Wherefore he gave notice to his maſter King *Lewis*, from whom King *James* had the firſt convincing intelligence. It is true Mr. *Skelton*, while reſiding at the *Hague*, had made ſome remote diſcoveries, and had intercepted a letter, intimating, That a great project was ſecretly carried on againſt the King of *England*, of which he immediately gave an account to his majeſty. But the court of *England* had been ſo often impos'd upon by imaginary deſigns, and falſe alarms, that no great notice was taken of Mr. *Skelton*'s information. However the *French* King laid more weight upon his ambaſſador's advice, and preſs'd King *James* to take ſuch notice of it as it deſerv'd, and to put himſelf into a poſture of defence againſt the intended invaſion of his dominions.

The French *Ambaſſador's Suſpicion.*

Immediately after, *Skelton* being remov'd to *Paris*, in quality of envoy extraordinary, made a new and more ſatisfactory diſcovery, and accordingly

Skelton *gives Notice of the Preparations.*

dingly wrote five or ſix letters to the court of *England* in a warm and preſſing ſtyle. In the mean time *Albyville*, the miniſter at the *Hague*, was not wanting in his duty and intelligence. So that tho' King *James* had ſufficient notice given to him not to be ſurpriz'd, yet it was late before he hearken'd to thoſe advices: And the following reaſons are given by his friends why he did not hearken to them ſooner. "The prince of "*Orange* continu'd paying him the ſame reſpects, "and even complimenting him, as others did, up- "on the birth of the prince of *Wales*, and caus'd "his name to be added to the prayers in the "chapel, to the reſt of the princes of the fa- "mily." Beſides, upon the news of a great armament in *Holland*, the *Dutch* ambaſſador gave King *James* to underſtand, "That *France* had "more reaſon to be alarm'd at it than *England*;" who had threaten'd the *Dutch* with no invaſion, as the other had. On the other ſide, the unfortunate King, intoxicated with ſecurity, ſo much depended upon a numerous army, a ſtrong fleet, and the affections of his people, that he ſeem'd to diſregard the feeble attempts of the *Hollanders*: At leaſt, as it is believ'd, he was taught to diſregard them by his prime miniſter the earl of *Sunderland*.

But is neglected.

Here the *French* hiſtorian, who was well acquainted with King *James*'s ſecrets, takes an occaſion curiouſly to ſum up all that has been argu'd for and againſt that earl, whoſe character and actions had been ſo dubious to the world. After a repetition of what cou'd be ſaid on both ſides, with relation to the faithfulneſs, or the treachery of his proceedings, he leaves the whole as a problem not then ſufficiently decided. Nor does it clearly appear to us, by authentick evidence, but that the advices he gave at this time might be as faithful to his

The Earl of Sunderland *uncertain.*

King, as they were certainly advantagious to his country.

The French King's Offer.

VI. However, the *French* King appear'd more diligent and careful than his *Britannick* majeſty; and knowing that he cou'd not in a better ſeaſon ingage him in the ſtricteſt alliance, notwithſtanding his grand deſign was againſt *Germany*, he of a ſudden diſpatch'd Monſieur *Bonrepos* to him, to offer him the aſſiſtance of twenty or thirty thouſand men, as he ſhou'd have occaſion; and *Portſmouth* was propos'd as a place neceſſary to keep open the communication with *France*. The prieſts in general, and moſt of the *popiſh* lords were for accepting this free offer, but the earl of *Sunderland* intirely oppos'd it. He alledg'd, "That the offer of an army "amounting to forty thouſand might be a real "ſtrength againſt a foreign power; but then it "would depend upon all orders from *France*. "This army might perhaps maſter the *Engliſh* "oppoſers; but then they wou'd ſoon become "the King's maſter. So that he muſt govern "under their orders, and become a vice-roy to "the King of *France*. Any army, ſaid he, leſs "than that, wou'd loſe the King the affections "of his people, and drive his own army to mu-"tiny and deſertion." The King ſeem'd inclinable to his opinion, ſtill believing that matters were not ſo near a *criſis*; ſo that he neither entertain'd the propoſition, or totally diſmiſs'd it; but was willing to have a hundred merchant ſhips in readineſs for the tranſportation of ſuch forces as he ſhou'd deſire.

Refus'd by Sunderland.

The ſudden arrival of *Bonrepos*, *Auguſt* 25th, and his frequent conferences with the *Engliſh* miniſters, in conjunction with *Barillon*, the old *French* ambaſſador, gave jealouſy to the *Spaniſh* miniſter *Ronquillo*, who firſt expoſtulated with the

the lord *Sunderland* about it: and not ſatisfy'd with his anſwers, he demanded a private audience with the King, which was granted. He was two hours in conference with his majeſty; and after aſſuring him, That the *Dutch* had no deſign upon *England*, he repreſented to him, "The "fatal conſequences of entering into alliance "with *France*, and how ill it wou'd ſound in "the nation, That while he pretended to call a "free parliament, to meet on the 27th of *No-* "*vember*, he ſhou'd introduce foreign troops in- "to his kingdom." The King own'd to this ambaſſador, "That the ſending of *Bonrepos*, at "this nice juncture, was the moſt unfriendly "turn that his brother of *France* cou'd have "done him: That he wiſh'd it had been in his "power to ſend him back the next day after "his arrival; but ſince in decency he cou'd not "do that, he wou'd however give him but "ſmall encouragement to ſtay." And at the ſame time his majeſty aſſur'd the ambaſſador, "That he had much rather entertain a good "correſpondence with *Holland*, than be thought "to have a ſtrict alliance with *France*;" which gave particular ſatisfaction to this miniſter, and *Bonrepos* finding his maſter's kindneſs and officiouſneſs to be but coldly receiv'd, he ſet out for *France* on the 4th of *September*.

Ronquillo's *Conference with K.* James.

The King's refuſal, or rather backwardneſs in accepting the *French* forces was a great ſurprize and concern to that court. But what made it more eaſy there, was the informations of *Barillon* their ambaſſador, who had gain'd ſo long an experience into the genius of the *Engliſh* nation, that it was believ'd he cou'd not eaſily be miſtaken in his thoughts of the preſent affairs. But his knowledge of the court, was better than that of the country; and he believ'd that King *James* wou'd have been able to have made a much greater

Barillon's *Advices.*

diviſion in the nation, than appear'd afterwards. His expreſs opinion was, That the *Dutch* invaſion muſt produce a civil war; and in conſequence the *Engliſh* King wou'd have been forc'd to accept of aſſiſtance from *France* on any terms. And accordingly he incourag'd his maſter to go on with his deſigns upon *Germany* that winter; not doubting but he might come in good time the next year to King *James*'s aſſiſtance. Theſe advices not only prov'd fatal to the King, but alſo to the adviſer himſelf. For when *Barillon* ſhortly after was ſent over to *France*, he was ſo ill receiv'd and neglected, that it was believ'd to have occaſion'd his death ſoon after.

K. Lewis's *Concern for* *K.* James.

Yet ſtill the court of *France* was more apprehenſive than that of *England*; and Mr. *Skelton* there was tir'd out with the complaints of the people, becauſe their advice was not follow'd. They were very urgent with him to find ſome *expedient* to ſerve his maſter in ſpite of his miniſters at home; and they went ſo far as to oblige him to propoſe a *method*, which muſt have ſav'd him, had not the court of *England*, ſtill running on in the ſame way, quite prevented it. When Monſieur *de Croiſſy* preſs'd Mr. *Skelton* about that nice point, he anſwer'd, *That he had no orders, and durſt not ask any thing*; but added, *That nevertheleſs he believ'd, That if his moſt* chriſtian majeſty *wou'd declare to the* States *how much he eſpous'd King* James's *concerns, and threaten'd to attack them, if they attempted any thing againſt him, it wou'd certainly put a ſtop to their deſign, and break the meaſures of the prince of* Orange, *without giving the* Engliſh *any cauſe to complain*, That the King had call'd in ſtrangers into their country. *De Croiſſy*, approving of Mr. *Skelton*'s propoſal, offerr'd it to the King himſelf; who readily embracing all methods for aſſiſting his brother of

England,

England, ſent immediate orders to *d'Avaux* his ambaſſador at the *Hague*.

Accordingly, on the 9th of *September*, that miniſter deliver'd a memorial to the *States-General*, letting them know, "That his maſter underſtood that their deſign was againſt *England*, and in that caſe he ſignify'd to them, That the ties of *friendſhip* and *ALLIANCE* between him and the King of *Great Britain*, wou'd oblige him not only to aſſiſt, but alſo to look upon the firſt act of hoſtility againſt him, to be a manifeſt rupture of the peace, and a breach with his crown." At the ſame time *Albyville* the *Engliſh* envoy, in another memorial freely demanded of the *States*, "What they meant by their great and ſurprizing warlike preparations both by ſea and land, at that time of the year, when all operations, eſpecially thoſe at ſea, uſe to ceaſe. *Memorials deliver'd to the* States.

Theſe two memorials began to alarm the *States*, and put them to ſome difficulty. However, they return'd no anſwer to the firſt; but as to the ſecond, they told *Albyville*, "That they arm'd in imitation of his *Britannick* majeſty; and that they were long ſince convinc'd of the ALLIANCE into which he had enter'd with *France*, and which had been own'd to them by the count *d'Avaux*." And they not only complain'd of this *alliance* to the *Engliſh* envoy, but likewiſe order'd their ambaſſador at *London*, *Van Citters*, to complain of the *French* memorial to the court of *England*. And indeed the diſcovery of this alliance, which had been long ſuſpected, ſerv'd to rouſe the *States-General*, and to quicken their preparations. *The* States *Anſwer.*

But it ſeem'd to have another effect in *England*, where a particular council was held upon that occaſion: And tho' they had now a freſh opportunity of accepting the offerr'd diverſion *A further Neglect in* England.

from *France*, yet ſtill they alter'd not their methods, and the prime miniſter *Sunderland* ſtood to his firſt advice; and moreover, the matter went ſo far, that in concluſion it was reſolv'd to diſown the count *d'Avaux*'s proceedings, as reflecting upon his *Britannick* majeſty. This reſolution was immediately communicated to the *Dutch* ambaſſador; and King *James*'s miniſters at the *Hague*, *Bruſſels*, and *Madrid*, were order'd to declare, "That the *French* memorial was preſented "to the *States*, without his majeſty's knowledge, "or his apprehenſion." Another memorial was order'd to be deliver'd by *Albyville* to the *States*, declaring, "That there was no other treaty be-"tween his maſter and *France*, than thoſe that "were publick. And becauſe Mr. *Skelton* was ſuppos'd to have exceeded his inſtructions, he was ſuddenly recall'd from *Paris*, and committed priſoner to the *Tower*.

A plauſible Propoſal refus'd.

Theſe proceedings ſeem'd very ſtrange to the *French* court, and their ambaſſador *Barillon*, who tho' he was poſſeſs'd with a notion of a civil war in *England*, highly advantagious to his maſter, yet he made a new propoſal to King *James*, of great importance, namely, "That the *French* "ſhou'd abandon the deſign lately taken to be-"ſiege *Philpsburgh*, and carry on the war into "*Holland*." This overture was very formidable to all that wiſh'd well to the prince of *Orange*, and ſo eaſy and plauſible, that it was approv'd by four or five of the council; but others warmly oppos'd it, alledging, "That ſuch a violation "of former treaties with *Holland* wou'd be ſuf-"ficient to raiſe the clamours of the whole na-"tion, and to alienate the minds of the *Engliſh* "*proteſtants* from his majeſty." This ſuggeſtion, of the two, being more plauſible, did not miſs of its effect.

Tho'

Tho' the deluded King was not without hopes that the threatning ſtorm might diſcharge itſelf rather in ſome other country than his own; yet ſtill he made all proper preparations againſt it. He order'd the fitting out of the fleet to be carry'd on with double diligence; he gave out commiſſions for the augmenting the army, in which he ſtill confided; and what was more material, orders were diſpatch'd to *Tyrconnel*, for ſending over whole regiments out of *Ireland*, on which he moſt of all depended. All theſe gave him ſome ſort of reſt and ſatisfaction for a few days; while he continu'd to hope in the favourable ſide, both from abroad and at home. And here the *French* hiſtorian concludes this ſubject in theſe words; "And thus the poſitiveneſs of a mini-"ſter, if no more be thought of it, deliver'd "up a mighty King, into the hands of his ene-"mies; and an exceſs of confidence repos'd on "ſubjects more than they deſerv'd, depriv'd that "prince of the ſuccours he might have had elſe-"where." How far the poſitiveneſs of that miniſter was culpable or laudable, is left to the judgment of *Engliſh* readers. *K. James's Preparations.*

And thus we have ſhown the beginnings and progreſs of the great revolution, before it became apparent and viſible to all men: which happen'd about the middle of the month of *September*, 1688.

CHAP. II.

From the open Appearance of the Revolution, to the Landing of the Prince of Orange.

Containing about Six Weeks.

SEPTEMBER.

The Dutch *Deſign made publick.*

I. THO' the deſigns of the *States-General*, and the prince of *Orange*, were open and avow'd about the middle of the month, yet King *James* had not full and perfect notice till the twenty-third of *September*, when he receiv'd intelligence from *Albyville* at the *Hague*, "That penſioner *Fagel* had frankly "own'd to him the deſign of the prince of "*Orange*; adding, That if the *Dutch* ambaſſa-"dor had ſaid any thing to the contrary at *Lon-*"*don*, it was without orders from the *States*." And further he acquainted his majeſty, "That "ſeveral *Engliſh* lords and gentlemen had al-"ready croſs'd the ſea, and lay privately in *Hol-*"*land*, ready to accompany the prince in his "expedition." Upon reading this letter, the unfortunate King turn'd pale, and for a while remain'd ſpeechleſs: All his remaining hopes, and former expectations of greatneſs, ſeem to vaniſh in a moment; and the miſ-led monarch by a flaſh from the *Eaſt*, freed from his inchantment, found himſelf upon the brink of that precipice, to which he had been long haſtning without intermiſſion. At the proſpect of which his mind was diſtracted, and unfix'd as to any reſolution. After a little recovery, a great

King James *terrify'd.*

great man undertook to ſupport his ſpirits, by repreſenting to him, "That the danger was "leſs than he imagin'd; and that the prince "of *Orange* might ſtill be *diverted* from the de- "ſign, or be *defeated* in the attempt." But he made anſwer, *I know my ſon-in-law's character ſo well, that if he undertakes any deſign, he will go through with it; he will never be diverted, and very hardly be defeated.*

He applies to the Biſhops.

In this emergency, the ſinking King, whom this danger had render'd clear ſighted, diſcover'd the chief ſupport of his authority, the biſhops, and eagerly endeavour'd to lay hold on that intereſt which he had zealouſly attempted to overthrow. The biſhop of *Ely*, who had loſt himſelf for joining with his petitioning brethren, was now reſtor'd to favour, and employ'd to manage a reconcilement between his majeſty, and the reſt of the prelates then in town. Accordingly the next day, the biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Peterborough*, *Rocheſter*, *Ely*, and *Bath* and *Wells* were ſummon'd to appear before the King: *London* and *Briſtol* were not then come to town; and the archbiſhop was ſick, but came alone the next day. The King, who to them and others us'd to declare, *He expected to be obey'd*, was now very humble and condeſcending, and with all imaginable affability, told them, *That he deſir'd the aſſiſtance of their councils in this preſent exigency*; aſſuring them, *That he was ready to do whatever they ſhou'd think neceſſary for the ſecurity of the* proteſtant religion, *and of the* rights of the people, *without derogating from his own* prerogative. The biſhops anſwer'd the King's confidence in them by all expreſſions of duty and loyalty to him; and wou'd have proceeded to farther proofs of their intentions, had not the King told them, *He was not then at leiſure*; and therefore deſir'd them,

them, *To conſult together about ſo weighty a matter.* Whereupon they took their leaves, and repair'd to *Lambeth*, there to draw up ſomething that ſhould be anſwerable to the difficulty of the ſeaſon.

A Proclamation againſt the Prince of Orange.

The fears of the King, and the hopes of the people, appear'd very equal, according as the news arriv'd from *Holland*. Therefore to prepoſſeſs the minds of his ſubjects againſt the prince of *Orange*, on the 28th of *September* the King iſſued out a *declaration*, intimating, "That "notwithſtanding all pretenſions, the invaſion "was intended for nothing leſs than an abſolute "*conqueſt* of his kingdoms, and the utter ſub-"duing and ſubjecting them, and all his peo-"ple, to a *foreign power*." Notwithſtanding which, he let them know, "That he declin'd "all *foreign ſuccours*, and rely'd wholly upon "his own ſubjects, for whom he had often "ventur'd his life." In concluſion he inform'd them, "That tho' he intended to have met his "parliament in *November*, yet in regard of this "ſtrange attempt, deſign'd to divert his ſaid "gracious purpoſes, he found it neceſſary to "recal the *writs* that had been iſſu'd out.

London *Charter reſtor'd.*

The King and court, beſides this *declaration*, us'd all poſſible means to regain the affection and confidence of the church of *England*, which they had us'd with all indecency, and began to tread backwards the unfortunate ſteps they had made. The biſhop of *London*'s ſuſpenſion was taken off; and a churchman was nominated to ſucceed an anabaptiſt lord mayor of *London*. And further, hearing that the biſhops, among other things, deſign'd to beg the reſtoration of the charter of *London*, he anticipated that part of their petition; and ſending for the lord mayor, and heads of the city, he let them know, "That as a mark of the great confi-

"dence

" dence repos'd in them at this time, he re-
" ſolv'd to reſtore them to their ancient char-
" ter and privilege, and to put them into the
" ſame condition they were in, when the judg-
" ment upon the *Quo Warranto* paſs'd againſt
" them; ſo that they might be better enabled
" to ſerve him with duty and loyalty, *&c.*

A general Pardon.

At the ſame time he order'd a general pardon of all criminals to be publiſh'd by proclamation; out of which he excepted Sir *Robert Peyton*, Sir *Rowland Gwyn*, Dr. *Gilbert Burnet*, Major *Wildman*, *Samuel Johnſon*, *Titus Oates*, *Robert Ferguſon*, and ten others of leſs note. This pardon was of ſingular advantage to the miniſters of ſtate, and other active perſons; but was very little regarded by the body of the people, whoſe eyes, ears and hearts were ſo intent upon the hopes of a deliverance, that they cou'd hardly look upon a common ſane, without offering up their wiſhes and prayers for an *eaſterly*, then call'd a *proteſtant wind*.

OCTOBER.

The Biſhops Advice and Propoſals to the King.

II. The proclamation for pardon was made publick upon the ſecond of this month; and the next day, the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, at the head of eight more biſhops, *London*, *Winchester*, St. *Aſaph*, *Ely*, *Chicheſter*, *Rocheſter*, *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Peterborough*, preſented themſelves before his majeſty at *White-hall*. The archbiſhop, with great decency and gravity, let him know, " That upon former incouragement,
" they now appear'd before his majeſty, with
" all humility to ſuggeſt to him ſuch advices,
" as they thought proper at this ſeaſon, and
" conducing to his ſervice, and ſo leave them
" to his princely conſideration.

The

The King allowing his grace to proceed, he did in theſe following advices, of which the ſubſtance is, " 1. To put the management of " the government, in all parts, into the hands " of ſuch of the nobility and gentry as were " *legally qualify'd.* 2. To annul his commiſſion " for *eccleſiaſtical affairs*, and to erect no ſuch " for the future. 3. That no *diſpenſation* be " granted or continu'd, to make *unqualify'd* per- " ſons hold any preferments in church or ſtate, " or in the univerſities; and particularly to re- " ſtore *Magdalen* college in *Oxford*. 4. To " ſet aſide all *licences*, enabling perſons of the " *romiſh* communion to teach publick ſchools. " 5. To ſtop his *diſpenſing power*, and to per- " mit that point to be fully debated, and final- " ly ſettled in parliament. 6. To inhibit the " four foreign biſhops from invading the juriſ- " diction of thoſe of the church of *England*. " 7. To fill the vacant biſhopricks, and other " eccleſiaſtical preferments in his gift, with men " of learning and piety. 8. To ſuperſede all " further proſecutions of *Quo Warrantos* againſt " corporations, and reſtore them their ancient " charters, *&c.* 9. That *writs* may be ſpeedily " iſſu'd out for a *free parliament*, in which the " *church of England*, a due *liberty of conſcience*, " and the *properties* of the ſubject may be ſet- " tled and ſecur'd. 10. Above all, That he " would be pleas'd to permit his biſhops to of- " fer ſuch arguments, as they truſted might " be effectual to perſwade him to return to " the communion of that moſt catholick church " and faith, into which he was baptiz'd, and " in which he was educated.

Obſervations upon them.

It is eaſy to conceive how much the prieſts were enraged at theſe innocent and wholſom propoſals, by the reſentment they expreſs'd, even when their affairs declin'd into a more hopeleſs con-

condition. But tho' they ſounded very ungrateful in the King's ear, yet the neceſſity of the preſent ſtate oblig'd him to conceal his diſcontent, and likewiſe to comply with moſt of them. It has been juſtly obſerv'd, That theſe were drawn up juſt at the ſame time that the *declaration* of the prince of *Orange* was ſign'd at the *Hague*; and the matter of them, without any communication of opinions, was very near the ſame, except one or two particulars, too high for the notice of private ſubjects: And theſe offer'd at a time when they were not apprehenſive of the weakneſs of the King and the wonderful change that ſucceeded, which manifeſted the courage, as well as honeſty of thoſe prelates. And when the archbiſhop was order'd to draw up a form of prayer againſt the *danger of an invaſion*, he ventur'd upon theſe petitions, "Preſerve that *holy religion* we profeſs, "together with our *laws* and *ancient govern-* "*ment*; and unite us all in unfeigned and uni- "verſal charity one towards another, and in "one and the ſame *holy worſhip* and *commu-* "*nion.*" All which was acknowledg'd to be more againſt *popery* than for his majeſty's ſervice.

Backward Steps and Redreſs Grievances.

However, the King immediately went about to redreſs moſt of the grievances complain'd of, and in two days the commiſſion for *cauſes eccleſiaſtical* was diſſolv'd. The next day the lord chancellor *Jeffreys*, who in ſome meaſure ow'd his preferment to the gaining of the charter of *London*, was now forc'd to carry it back from whence it was taken. The biſhop of *Wincheſter*, viſitor of *Magdalen* college in *Oxford*, was order'd to ſettle that ſociety according to rule and ſtatute. A proclamation was iſſu'd out for reſtoring corporations to their ancient charters, liberties, rights and franchiſes. *Popiſh* lord lieutenants,

tenants, juſtices of the peace, mayors, recorders, and other magiſtrates, were diſplac'd, and *proteſtants* put in their rooms. So that in the ſpace of about twelve days, that formidable fabrick was in effect, or in a great meaſure demoliſh'd, which the *romiſh* cabal had been near four years erecting.

Unequal Proceedings at Court.

And yet, which is more ſtrange, as tho' the fabrick was nothing but the effect of enchantment, as ſoon as the court had heard, "That "the *Dutch* fleet had ſuffer'd much in a ſtorm, "and wou'd be hardly able to put to ſea till "the next ſpring," it began to riſe again in its former ſhape, and the reſtoration of *Magdalen* college was deferr'd. Again, ſoon after, when that falſe news was contradicted, and the *Dutch* reported to be in a ſailing poſture, it ſunk as faſt, and the old affection to the church of *England* reviv'd, and the ſettlement of the college was compleated the 24th of this month. What can be ſaid of the founders of ſuch a fabrick? However it is certain that theſe proceedings loſt the King many friends, who were willing to ſtand by him; but now inſenſibly fell away from him, at a time when he ſtood in the greateſt need of their aſſiſtance.

The Preparations.

After a little recovery from the firſt fright, the court began to be in ſome hopes that the deſigns of the prince of *Orange* might ſtill be defeated. To which end the lord *Dartmouth* was diſpatch'd to ſea with a noble fleet, and with orders to engage the *Dutch* men of war, but more eſpecially to fall upon the tranſport ſhips, as he ſaw them making their way towards *England*. The duke of *Newcaſtle*, the earls of *Lindſey*, *Derby*, *Pembroke* and *Ailsbury*, with ſome few more of the nobility, offerr'd their ſervice to his majeſty, while others ſtood at a diſtance. Wherefore the King gave commiſſions

miſſions to ſeveral of theſe, for the raiſing of new forces. The train'd bands of *London*, and the country *militia*, were order'd to be in readineſs to march. Two thouſand five hundred men arriv'd at *Cheſter* out of *Ireland*, and three thouſand at *Carliſle* out of *Scotland*. A proclamation was likewiſe publiſh'd, "Commanding "all perſons to cauſe the coaſts to be well "watched, and to cauſe all conveniencies to be "remov'd from the places where the enemy "ſhou'd attempt to land." So that there ſeem'd to be ſufficient care to oppoſe a much more powerful enemy. And beſides all human precautions, extraordinary prayers of *forty hours* were celebrated in the King's chapel, where the *Hoſte* was in a particular manner expos'd. But becauſe the people began to be inſulting, the *popiſh* chapels were ſhut up; and the *prieſts* and *jeſuits*, diſcovering the gathering ſtorm, began to retire, and fly for ſhelter into foreign parts.

During theſe times of diſtraction, the declining party reſolv'd to make the beſt of their *popiſh* ſucceſſor, and ſoon after he was ſolemnly baptiz'd by the name of *James*, *Francis*, *Edward*, and had the pope for his god-father, they proceeded to ſupport the belief of his legitimacy. This had been ſo ſtrongly ſuſpected, and ſo frequently exploded both abroad and at home, that the King, on the 22d, thought it neceſſary to call an extraordinary council, not only of all the privy counſellors, but of all the nobility and judges, then in town. To whom he pathetically expoſtulated "concerning the in-"jury done to him and his queen by the prince "of *Orange* and others, who charg'd them with "ſo black an impoſture: He ſaid he believ'd "there were very few princes then alive that "had been born in the preſence of ſo many witneſſes

" witneſſes as his ſon; therefore he has call'd " them together to hear the proof of the whole " matter.

And his Legitimacy canvas'd.

Beſides the declaration of the Queen Dowager, the depoſitions of forty perſons were taken in form, of which ſeventeen were *roman catholicks*, and the reſt *proteſtants*. The deſign and purport of the depoſitions was to lay open the particulars and circumſtance belonging to big-belly'd and lying-in women, and to apply them to the preſent caſe. The greateſt part of them, by reaſon of the cloſeneſs of the Queen's bed, and other accidents, were but very little to the purpoſe, and ſcarcely more than if the deponents had been in another room. But ſome few of them were more than circumſtantial, and very home to the purpoſe; particularly what was ſworn concerning the milk ſeen in the Queen's breaſts, and what was depos'd by her midwife, nurſe and landreſs, concerning her actual delivery, her condition at that time, and the prince of *Wales* being the very ſame child. In concluſion the King declar'd, *He wou'd die a thouſand deaths, before he wou'd injure any of his children*; and order'd the *depoſitions* and his *declaration* to be publickly enroll'd in *chancery*.

But to little Effect.

It is believ'd that this uncommon proceeding wou'd not have been ſubmitted to by either of their majeſties, at another ſeaſon; therefore it proved but a poor after-game to either of them. For notwithſtanding the formality, and even ſolemnity of this affair, and the careful diſperſing theſe *depoſitions*, they had none of the intended effect upon the people; who were now ſo prepoſſeſs'd, that they made a thouſand ſtrange reflections, and perverſe obſervations upom them, and in all their arguings they ſeem'd more provok'd than convinc'd. They ſhewed ſo little regard to the modeſty of a woman, or the majeſty

ſty of a Queen, that ſome ſaid, *She ought to have been deliver'd at* Charing-Croſs. And as to the moſt material part of the depoſitions, their common anſwer was, "That the Queen's milk "was the effects only of *art* and *management*;" and what was ſaid of her delivery, *&c.* was downright *lying* and *perjury*. To ſuch a poor ebb was the unhappy King's credit reduc'd at this time; ſo that the body of his ſubjects wou'd neither believe what he ſaid himſelf, nor any of thoſe who ſwore in his favour.

The Lord Sunderland *diſgrac'd.*

Soon after, there was a great change in the court, the ſudden removal of the lord *Sunderland* from all his places, which caus'd great conjectures at that time. The occaſion of his diſgrace is not clear to the world; tho' it is moſtly believ'd that it proceeded from his neglect of Mr. *Skelton*'s informations, the refuſal of foreign aſſiſtance, and a ſecret correſpondence with the prince of *Orange*; which laſt did never fully appear to the King, nor perhaps to any other perſon. And tho' his majeſty now parted from him with diſguſt, and afterwards excepted him from pardon in his *declarations*, yet he ſeem'd never to have been certainly convinced of thoſe ſtrange actions with which he was charged. The ſame lord was alſo excepted out of King *William*'s act of pardon; ſo that there ſeems to be ſomething ſingular in his character, or unfortunate in his attempts, that ſhou'd cauſe him to be condemn'd by the moſt different parties.

Particular Pardons.

Some other perſons, who thought themſelves obnoxious, made all poſſible haſte to ſue out their pardons from the King, before it was too late; ſuch were the lord chancellor, two biſhops, and above twenty more of note. This was in the concluſion of the month, when all guilty perſons moſt dreaded an impending ſtorm; while all the reſt, the generality of the nation, were

joyfully lifting up their ears and eyes, their hands and hearts towards *Holland*, in hopes of ſome great and ſignal change. All former injuries and conteſts betwen the two nations were now laid aſleep; and the *Engliſh* expected ſo much good, and fear'd ſo little hurt from the *Dutch*, that the witty lord *Dorſet* ſaid, *That if they came at this ſeaſon, it may be call'd* The merry invaſion.

The Proceedings of the Prince of Orange.

III. While the King of *England* and his miniſters were practiſing all methods for their ſecurity, the prince of *Orange* was as diligent in haſtening his expedition, which in outward appearance was very hazardous and difficult, with reſpect both to ſea and land. All precautions were us'd, and many conſultations held, and freſh invitations and advices ſent him from *England*; all urging for haſte and diſpatch. The earl of *Danby*, one of the foremoſt in *England*, was very earneſt to have the prince land in the *Humber*, or at *Burlington* in *Yorkſhire*, which county abounded in a well-affected gentry, and numbers of horſes, and where he ſhou'd be ready to join him. Tho' this was warmly oppos'd by the ſeamen, who ſaid that the fleet cou'd much more ſafely ride in the *channel*, eſpecially in the winter ſeaſon, the earl's opinion ſo far prevail'd, as to make *Yorkſhire* the landing place, and after that to ſend the fleet into the *channel*.

His Declaration.

Having brought things to a great forwardneſs, to juſtify his undertaking to the whole world, the prince of *Orange* publiſh'd a ſolemn *declaration*, in the drawing up of which there were variety of ſentiments, and it was thought too long at laſt. It was dated *October* the 10th new ſtile, and divided into twenty ſix articles, but reducible to three heads. "The *firſt* con-
"tain'd a particular enumeration of the grievances
"of

" of the *Engliſh* nation, as have been formerly " mention'd; and of the putting the govern- " ment of *Ireland* into the hands of *papiſts*; and " of the aſſuming an *abſolute power* in the govern- " ment of *Scotland*. *Secondly*, Tho' all kinds of " remedies had been offerr'd, yet they were of " no effect; eſpecially that of a *free parliament*, " which, according to the breaches into the con- " ſtitution, cou'd not be regularly ſummon'd. " That he and the world had reaſon to ſuſpect " That the pretended prince of *Wales* was not " born of the Queen; and ſince his dear con- " ſort had ſo near an intereſt in that matter, he " could not excuſe himſelf from eſpouſing her's " and the nation's cauſe; for the promoting of " which he had been earneſtly ſollicited by " many lords, both ſpiritual and temporal, and " by many gentlemen, *&c.* *Laſtly*, That this " expedition was intended for no other deſign, " but to have a free and *lawful parliament* aſſem- " bled as ſoon as it was poſſible: To which par- " liament he wou'd refer the enquiry into the " birth of the pretended prince of *Wales*, and " of all things relating therto, and to the *right* " *of ſucceſſion*. He promis'd to endeavour the " peace and happineſs of the nation, under a juſt " and legal government; and likewiſe to do the " ſame with relation to the two other kingdoms " of *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

This being printed, and ready to ſend over into *England*, the prince was inform'd that King *James*, by granting moſt of the biſhops de- mands, had taken meaſures to render it ineffe- ctual. Whereupon, fourteen days after he caus'd an addition to be made to it, importing, " That " the ſubverters of the religion and laws of the " nation, hearing of his preparations, had began " to retract ſome of their *arbitrary proceedings*, and " to vacate ſome of their *unjuſt judgments*; and *An Addi- tion to it.*

" alſo gave out *That he intentended to conquer and* " *enſlave the nation.* He therefore further de- " clar'd, That as the forces he had with him were " utterly diſproportion'd to the wicked deſign of " *conqueſt*; ſo the numbers of the principal no- " bility, and men of the moſt eminent worth " and quality, who did both accompany him in " this *expedition*, and had earneſtly ſollicited him " to it, wou'd cover him from all ſuch malici- " ous inſinuations. And as that *imperfect redreſs* " that is now offerr'd, is a plain confeſſion of " the *violences* he had ſet forth; ſo the *defective-* " *neſs* of it was no leſs apparent, ſince they laid " down nothing which they might not take up " at pleaſure. So that it was plain, that no re- " dreſs nor remedy cou'd be offerr'd, but in par- " liament, by a *declaration of the rights of the ſub-* " *jects* that had been invaded, and not by pre- " tended *acts of grace*, to which neceſſity had " driven them. Therefore he again declar'd, " That he wou'd refer all to a *free aſſembly* of this " nation in a *lawful parliament*.

With this *declaration* the prince order'd letters to be writ in his name, inviting both the ſoldiers, ſeamen and others to join with him, in order to the ſecuring their religion, laws and liberties. Another ſhort paper was drawn up by Dr. *Burnet*, concerning the *meaſures of obedience*, juſtifying the deſign, and anſwering the objections againſt it. Of all which many thouſand copies were printed and diſpers'd throughout *England*. And moreover about the ſame time was publiſh'd *The reſolution of the* States-General, *containing their reaſons that had oblig'd them to aſſiſt his highneſs the prince of* Orange *with ſhips, men and ammunition, in his intended expedition into* England: Wherein, beſides the repeated invitations his highneſs had receiv'd from the *Engliſh* nobility, gentry, and clergy,

The Reſolution of the States.

clergy, they alledg'd, "That the King of *France* "had upon ſeveral occaſions ſhew'd himſelf diſ- "ſatisfy'd with their *ſtate*; which gave them "cauſe to fear and apprehend, That in caſe the "King of *Great Britain* ſhou'd happen to compaſs "his deſigns within his kingdom, and obtain an "abſolute power over his people, that then both "kings, out of intereſt of ſtate, and hatred and "zeal againſt the *proteſtant* religion, would en- "deavour to bring their *ſtate* to confuſion, and "if poſſible, totally to ſubject it." Of this they had formerly particular information from *Rome* and the empire, and a further aſſurance by the late acknowledg'd alliance.

All things being in a readineſs, on the 16th old ſtile, the prince went into the aſſembly of the *States-General*, to take a ſolemn leave of them, and after a grateful acknowledgment of the many obligations due to them, and a declaration of the fidelity of his ſervices, he call'd God to witneſs "That he did not undertake ſuch an "arduous affair, but for his glory; and that "his only aim was the honour of God, the "welfare of their country, and of the *proteſtant* "religion. And he pray'd That God wou'd en- "due him with *wiſdom*, *foreſight* and *courage*; "and hop'd, if by his bleſſing he ſhou'd attain "his ends, he might ſet the *States* at greater li- "berty, and free them from the fear of their "neighbours and the haughty tyranny of thoſe "who wou'd enſlave them."——After a pauſe, he pathetically recommended one thing to them, "That as he did not know how God might diſ- "poſe of him in this expedition, and that he "might loſe his life in it, ſo he begg'd that they "wou'd then take the princeſs his wife under "their protection, who was as well affected to "their country, and the *proteſtant* religion, as "himſelf was; and he was ſatisfy'd ſhe cou'd

The Prince takes leave of the States.

" find no such secure retreat, as under the wings " of the *States*." He desir'd their prayers, and ended with tears flowing from his eyes, which melted the whole assembly into a generous sorrow. Pensioner *Fagel* having return'd a moving speech to him, they parted with the tenderness of lovers, as well as that of friends.

Dr. Burnet *with the Princess.*

A little before this, Dr. *Burnet*, who had been such an instrument in the great movement, was re-admitted to the princess, with whom he had the former freedom of conversation. He found her to have a great weight on her spirits, but to have no scruple of the lawfulness of the design. He encourag'd her with the hopes of success upon their safe arrival in *England*; but begg'd leave to tell her, *That if there shou'd happen to be at any time the least disjointing between the prince and her, that wou'd ruin all.* She bravely reply'd, *That he need not fear any such thing; if any persons shou'd attempt that, she wou'd treat them so, as to discourage all others from venturing on it for the future.*

The Prince puts to Sea,

The preparations for the fleet and army, as they had been carry'd on with extraordinary secrecy, were now compleated with admirable dispatch, on the 19th old stile. About five hundred transport ships were hir'd within the space of three days; so that never was so great a design executed in so short a time. But providence thought fit to prolong the time, to the great trial of many both in *Holland* and *England*. For within a day after the whole fleet were under sail, there arose a dreadful storm in the night, which for two days continu'd with so much fury, that they with great difficulty re-

And driven back by a Storm.

cover'd *Helvoet Sluice*, and some other ports. Though this was with considerable damage, and the loss of five hundred horses, yet but one man perish'd, and no vessel of note; so that the

escape

eſcape is much more to be remember'd, than the miſchief. Still the *States* and the prince were no ways diſcourag'd, but with the utmoſt vigour proceeded to ſupply all deficiencies. The princeſs at the *Hague* behaved herſelf according to her former character, and order'd prayers four times a day, in which ſhe join'd with great devotion. She talk'd little of publick affairs, but was calm and ſilent. And as the *States* us'd to order ſome of their body to inform her of their proceedings, her anſwers were ſhort, but in thoſe ſhe often gave them occaſion to admire her judgment.

IV. The news of this diſaſter flew immediately into *England*, where it prov'd a mighty pleaſure to the *popiſh* party, who cou'd not conceal their ſudden and inſulting joy, but boaſted, "That God Almighty had now recom-"pens'd them for the loſs of the *Spaniſh Ar-*"*mada*, which a hundred years ago was deſtin'd "to conquer the *Engliſh hereticks*." King *James* appear'd ſtrangely elevated; and a *French* author writes thus upon this occaſion; "I was "preſent when King *James* receiv'd the news: "At dinner he us'd but one of his hands, hold-"ing the moſt welcome letter in the other." Among other things, he ſaid to Monſieur *Barillon* the *French* ambaſſador, laughing, *At laſt then the wind has declar'd itſelf a* papiſt: Then reſuming his ſerious air, and ſoftning his voice, he ſaid, *You know, that for theſe three days I have caus'd the* holy ſacrament *to go in proceſſion*. As the matter was vaſtly aggravated both in the *Engliſh* and foreign gazettes, but with a different deſign, ſo for a ſhort time it had a fooliſh effect upon the *Engliſh* court, which began to re-call ſeveral late acts of favour, and unhappily

The News how receiv'd in England.

to ſhew that they were the reſult of neceſſity, and not inclination.

The King's Fleet out, under the Lord Dartmouth.

The court being now a little reliev'd, began to rely much upon the fleet, which had fallen down to the *buoy of the nore*, under the lord *Dartmouth*, a man of honour, who had receiv'd inſtructions at large to uſe all manner of acts of hoſtility againſt the *Dutch* men of war, and all that attended them; as well to deſtroy, as to hinder them from making any deſcent. This fleet conſiſted of ſixty one veſſels of war, of which thirty eight were of the line of battel; which in human appearance, upon a meeting, wou'd have worſted the prince's men of war, or at leaſt defeated his tranſports, and ſo ruin'd the great deſign. Being ready to put to ſea, the lord *Dartmouth* call'd a council of war, at the *Gunfleet*, and by a great majority it was reſolv'd to continue there to intercept the *Dutch* fleet: But there were ſome, who thought it more adviſeable to ſtand over to the coaſt of *Holland*, and there attend their coming out. This laſt propoſal, as Mr. *Burchett* obſerves, carry'd great weight with it, had there been a real deſign of obſtructing the paſſage of the prince of *Orange*: But inſtead of that, adds he, matters were ſo concerted between the flag-officers and commanders, who had often private meetings, that had the admiral come fairly up with the *Dutch*, it wou'd not have been in his power to have done much againſt them; tho' there was great reaſon to believe, that his lordſhip, and ſome of the captains, wou'd have acted to the utmoſt of their power.

Hazards on both ſides.

But after all, the hazard of meeting them was of that moment to the *Engliſh* nation, that the miſſing of them was eſteem'd as a peculiar bleſſing and providence. In ſum, the naval power and land forces, the fleet and armies of *England*, now

now ſubſiſting, were, in outward appearance, abundantly more than ſufficient to overthrow all the deſigns of *Holland*, without the leaſt aſſiſtance from *France*. And if outward appearances had been conſulted, without conſidering of inward weakneſſes, one might imagine, that nothing cou'd have produc'd this expedition but enthuſiaſm or inſpiration.

The Reſolution of the Prince.

In the mean time the prince of *Orange* proceeded with great intrepidity, and as if he was ſure of ſucceſs; while ſeveral about him began to be in a deſponding condition, and to look upon the deſign as irrecoverably loſt. This was entertain'd by many, whoſe courages had fail'd them in the late ſtorm. They propos'd to the prince to have the *Dutch* men of war go and fight the *Engliſh* fleet, or force them in; otherwiſe they thought the tranſport veſſels cou'd not ſafely get over. But his highneſs was averſe to all ſuch propoſals, or any thing that ſhould occaſion the leaſt delay; and gave ſuch reaſons as reſtor'd the hearts of ſome, and put the reſt to ſilence.

NOVEMBER.

He again puts to Sea.

V. All things being refitted, on the firſt of *November* old ſtile, the *Dutch* fleet again put to ſea, conſiſting of about fifty men of war, twenty five frigates, as many fireſhips, with about four hundred victuallers, and other veſſels for the tranſporting of above four thouſand horſe, and ten thouſand foot, with a full eaſterly wind. The prince with the *Rotterdam* admiral went on board a new veſſel of about twenty eight guns, call'd the *Briel*; the trumpets ſounding, the hautboys playing, the ſoldiers and ſeamen ſhouting, and vaſt crouds of ſpectators on the ſhore, breathing out their wiſhes, and ſending forth their prayers, after him.

His Attendants. him. With the prince were count *Nassau*, general of the horse, count *de Solmes*, colonel of the foot guards, count *de Stirum*, monsiuer *Bentink*, monsieur *Overquerque*, and monsieur *Zuylestein*. In the other ships were many of the nobility and gentry of *England* and *Scotland*, who had already declar'd for the prince; of which the most noted were the earl of *Shrewsbury*, the earl of *Macclesfield*, viscount *Mordant*, the earl of *Argyle*, the lord *Wiltshire*, the lord *Paulet*, the lord *Eland*, the lord *Dunblaine*, admiral *Herbert*, mr. *Henry Herbert*, colonel *Sidney*, mr. *Russel*, sir *Rowland Gwyn*, major *Wildman*, dr. *Burnet*, mr. *Harbord*, mr. *Ferguson*, and many others. And among foreigners, were the famous mareschal *Schomberg*, with his son count *Charles Schomberg*, monsieur *Caillemote*, son to the marquis *de Rowigny*, and two or three hundred *French* officers, who had left their country for their religion, and had now a share in this *protestant expedition*. *Herbert* led the van, *Evertzen* brought up the rear, and the prince plac'd himself in the main body, carrying a flag with *English* colours, and their highnesses arms, surrounded with this motto, THE PROTESTANT RELIGION, AND LIBERTIES OF *ENGLAND*, and underneath the motto of the house of *Nassau*, *JE MAINTIENDRI*.

Being got out, the next day they endeavour'd for some hours to sail northwards, for the mouth of the *Humber*, according to the invitation of the earl of *Danby*. But the strength of the east wind made it impracticable, and diverted that unhappy course, to the great satisfaction of the sea-men. And what was more, the same wind kept the *English* fleet in the river, so that they cou'd not possibly come out, tho' they had come down as far as the *gun-fleet*.

By

By which means the *Dutch* fleet had the ſea open to them, with a fair wind, and a ſafe navigation. On *Friday* the third, they paſs'd between *Dover* and *Calais*, and before night came in ſight of the iſle of *Wight*. They were rang'd in a line ſeven leagues in length, which made a glorious and a formidable ſhow, viſible to both the *Engliſh* and *French* ſhores, where the inhabitants might ſee the prince of *Orange* riding triumphantly in the *Engliſh channel*, while their Kings, *James* and *Lewis*, were in hourly apprehenſions of his landing and ſucceſs. *He enters the Channel.*

The former, who expected that the prince wou'd have landed in the north of *England*, and who had ſent a ſtrong detachment of his army that way, was ſurpriz'd and confounded to hear by ſeveral expreſſes, that the *Dutch* fleet was ſeen off of *Dover*, on the third, ſteering their courſe weſtward, ſo numerous that they were ſix hours in paſſing by that harbour; and that on the fourth, they were diſcover'd off of *Portſmouth* and the iſle of *Wight*. But ſtill he had reaſonable hopes that the lord *Dartmouth* wou'd attend them, and give a good account of them, which he endeavour'd to effect with all care and diligence.

The fourth of this month, being the birth-day of the prince, now thirty eight years of age, and alſo the day of his marriage, many fancy'd that his landing then would look auſpicious to the army, and animate the ſoldiers. But this being a *Sunday*, and dedicated to devovotion by the prince, others thought the next day, call'd *gun-powder treaſon*, wou'd have a better effect upon the *Engliſh* nation; and ſo they ſteer'd further weſtward, deſigning for *Dartmouth* or *Torbay*. That night a ſtrong gale and a bold pilot carry'd the fleet beyond the deſir'd ports; and when day-light ſhew'd them the coaſt,

coaſt, they found the inconvenience and danger, and fear'd that they might be forc'd to ſail on to *Falmouth*, or a worſe place, which gave them ſuch a melancholy proſpect, that Mr. *Ruſſel* bid Dr. *Burnet go to his prayers, for all was loſt.* But in the moment they ſaw this danger, the wind providentially turn'd to the ſouth, and with a gentle gale carry'd them directly into *Torbay*, and to the moſt convenient place for landing a body of horſe, that perhaps was to be found round the whole iſland; ſo that in three hours time all the horſe and neceſſary baggage were ſafely landed. And it is further remarkable, that immediately after, the wind turning weſt, did that night blow into ſuch a ſtorm, that the lord *Dartmouth*, who came up with the *Engliſh* fleet in ſight of them, was driven back, and ſo ſhatter'd, that he cou'd no longer keep out at ſea, but was forc'd at length to put in at *Portſmouth*, the fleet being in effect render'd unfit for ſervice that year.

He arrives in Torbay,

Upon their arrival at *Torbay*, the prince order'd his great ſtandard to be put up; and the white flag was ſet uppermoſt, ſignifying his gracious offer of peace to all ſuch as were willing to embrace it; under which the red or bloody flag was erected, denouncing war to all that oppos'd his deſigns. Drawing into the bay's mouth, they diſcover'd the people of *Devonſhire*, who flock'd in great numbers to the ſhore, to welcome their *deliverer* with joyful acclamations, and to furniſh him and his followers with proviſions for their refreſhment. Having rode at anchor for a ſhort ſpace, about noon-day and fine weather, the prince landed with mareſchal *Schomberg*, and divers lords, knights and gentlemen, with great pomp and ſolemnity. His highneſs was more than ordinary chearful, and taking Dr. *Burnet* by the hand,

Where he lands with all his Forces.

hand, he ask'd him: *If he wou'd not now believe predeſtination?* He only anſwer'd, *That he wou'd never forget that providence of God, which had appear'd ſo ſignally on that occaſion.* And indeed there appear'd ſuch characters of it, or ſuch concurrency of accidents, as were remark'd by ſuch as had not the leaſt tincture of ſuperſtition.

Thus the prince of *Orange*, after five days expedition, got footing upon *Engliſh* ground, which in a little time gave him full poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* dominions; which poſſeſſion, in ſpite of all powers and oppoſitions whatever, he held to the day of his death.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

From the Landing of the Prince of Orange, *to the Desertion of King* James.

Containing about five Weeks.

The State of the Nation, and of the King.

I. FROM the landing of the prince of *Orange*, may be dated a new *Æra* in *England*; in which kingdom were now two contending powers and armies in the very bowels. A terrible prospect of it self, and very threatning in appearance, and yet very little frightful to the nation in general, who were more fill'd with hopes and joy, than doubts and terrors. Yet of these parties, the most frightful to them, that of King *James*, was the most powerful in show, and which for a few days seem'd most likely to cast the scale. And it is believ'd by the most skilful in arms, that if his majesty, upon the first news, had headed his forces, hors'd his footmen, and rode directly to the prince, he had both prevented the revolt of his soldiers, and defeated the power of his adversaries. But this was a *crisis*, the issue of which he cou'd so little foresee, that it became beyond his will, as well as his power, to prevent it. He was weary'd and confounded in his mind and intellects, and no less haras's'd and disorder'd in his body and constitution. He found himself deceiv'd, and involv'd in inextricable difficulties, and knew not how to enter upon sudden action, such as was answerable to this extraordinary emergency.

The unhappy King was now more endeavouring to prevent, than to meet the mischief. So that at the first reading of the prince of *Orange's*

Orange's declaration, and that expreſſion, *his being invited by many of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal*, in great perplexity and haſte, he ſent for the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the biſhops of *London*, *Rocheſter*, and two or three more then in town. He directly demanded of them, *whether the contents of the prince's declaration, relating to their invitation, were true?* Their lordſhips were very cautious in their anſwer, and in general promis'd their faithful allegiance to his majeſty. Whereupon he immediately requir'd them to juſtify themſelves to the world, as to their part in that invitation; and accordingly ſet them a ſhort day, when they muſt bring a paper under their own hands, declaring their *abhorrence of the prince's intended invaſion*. He further added, "That his ſucceſs depended upon their "ready compliance; and that a *declaration* was "then in the preſs againſt the prince of *Orange*, "and was only deferr'd to have their *paper of* "*abhorrence* inſerted into it.

The King ſends for the Biſhops.

When the day of tryal came, which was the ſame with the prince's landing, great throngs were at court expecting the iſſue of it, all impatient to know what they wou'd do in that difficult moment. There happen'd to be only the archbiſhop, and the three biſhops of *London*, *Peterborough* and *Rocheſter*, to ſtand the great ſhock. At their firſt appearance, his majeſty with great eagerneſs call'd for their paper. But they begg'd "to be excus'd from writing "any thing of that nature, and from making a "particular defence to a general accuſation, "which might be a precedent againſt the pri-"vilege of peers. That their profeſſion being "to promote peace, they thought it did not "become them to declare war, eſpecially againſt "a prince ſo near ally'd to the crown." Whereupon the King was more urgent, and expoſtulated

Their Anſwer to him.

lated with the biſhops, with ſuch vehemence and tranſport, as they had never ſeen before. However they ſtill made good their humble refuſal, "and thought it a great hardſhip to be "join'd with the *lords temporal* in the accuſa- "tion, and ſeparated from them in their juſti- "fication." They us'd many arguments, and concluded all with an earneſt requeſt to his majeſty, "To call a *free parliament*." At laſt, when neither the King wou'd hearken to their motions, nor the biſhops be prevail'd on to ſubſcribe an *abhorrence* in form, he parted with great indignation. This ſo enrag'd the *jeſuited* party againſt them, that they were told, that one of the chief of them advis'd, *They ſhou'd be all impriſon'd, and the truth extorted from them by violence.*

A particular Obſervation.

The author of this account, one of the four, obſerves, That the biſhops of *Scotland*, on the contrary, were drawn into a *declaration*, *abhorring* the invaſion of the prince of *Orange*, and *renouncing* the principles on which it was founded; which prov'd ſuch a ſnare to them, that they cou'd not in honour act in parliament after the revolution; and purely by their abſence, gave the *presbyterians* opportunity to eſtabliſh themſelves by law, "So that, he concludes, as "the *Engliſh* biſhops refuſing to ſtand by the "doctrine of *paſſive obedience*, ſav'd epiſcopacy "in *England*; ſo the *Scotch* biſhops adhering "to that doctrine, deſtroy'd epiſcopacy in *Scot- "land*.

The King's Preparations.

The King, tho' diſappointed of the aſſiſtance of the biſhops, had ſtill great hopes from the fidelity of his army, and the former addreſſes of his people, in both which he put ſuch a general confidence, as was thought more romantick than reaſonable; and was ready to diſcard any perſon that pretended to give him a ſight

of

of his danger. However, he took all the ordinary methods of ſecuring himſelf againſt a foreign invaſion. The duke of *Berwick* was ſent to *Portſmouth* with moſt of the troops about *London*, to ſecure that place; and the reſt of the forces, now increaſed by the arrival of four thouſand *Iriſh*, were ſent to rendezvous on *Salisbury* plain, where the King deſign'd to command in perſon, and reckon'd to have an army of thirty thouſand men. At the ſame time all endeavours were us'd to render the prince and his army contemptible in the ſight of the people, by printing a liſt of them, and by giving out, "That but nine of the nobility and gen-"try, and a few rabble, appear'd for him." And further, the King, being inform'd that the city of *London*, and the counties of *York* and *Kent*, deſign'd to addreſs him to come to an accommodation with the prince of *Orange*, his majeſty raſhly declar'd in council, *That he wou'd look upon all thoſe as his Enemies, who ſhou'd pretend to adviſe him to treat with the invader of his kingdoms.*

In purſuance of this he iſſu'd out a formal *declaration* againſt the prince, in which "he "charg'd him with having no other deſign "but uſurping his crown and authority, as ap-"pear'd by the *regal ſtile* he aſſum'd in his "*declaration*, and by his queſtioning the legi-"timacy of the prince of *Wales*: That in or-"der to effect his ambitious deſigns, and ingra-"tiate himſelf with the people, he ſeem'd de-"ſirous to ſubmit all to a *free parliament*; "when he knew a parliament cou'd not be free, "when an army of foreigners was in the heart "of his kingdom; ſo that he was the ſole ob-"ſtructor of ſuch a free parliament. He pro-"mis'd to call ſuch a one, when his kingdom "ſhou'd be deliver'd from the invaſion; and in *His Declaration.*

" the mean time expected the obedience of all " his ſubjects." The greateſt part of the nation were already ſo prepoſſeſs'd in favour of the prince's good intentions, that this ſharp declaration ſerv'd more to exaſperate them againſt the King. But his majeſty and counſellors were now thought to be turn'd giddy with reſentment, and incapable of following thoſe wiſe methods, which were only the effect of cool and ſober thoughts.

The Progreſs of the Prince of Orange.

There was ſomething at that time that might well give them great incouragement, namely, the ſlow progreſs of the prince of *Orange* after his landing, which was in a country that had felt the ſevere effects of the duke of *Monmouth's* raſh attempt. Tho' the people were ready enough to ſhew their joy and good wiſhes, they were very fearful of offering their ſervices and perſons. They were ignorant of the engagement of the great lords and gentlemen to aſſiſt and join with him; and *Monmouth* had met with greater encouragement, having liſted more men in one day, than his highneſs did in ten. The *Devonſhire* men, by way of excuſe, told the prince's officers, *That they were of themſelves able to do the buſineſs, and wanted no more.* And indeed the army, conſidering how well it was compos'd, after it was refreſh'd, was far from being contemptible; conſiſting of ſeventy eight field-officers, near a thouſand inferior officers, and about fifteen thouſand men, which was about two thouſand more than had been publiſh'd in King *James's* liſt. The prince brought arms for as many more as he had with him; but being a regular and ſelect army, and not wanting ſuch immediate aſſiſtance, as the former expedition did, he was not ſo haſty in giving out commiſſions, for which he muſt be oblig'd to ſee proviſion made. The firſt he gave, were to the

the lord *Mordant*, ſir *John Guiſe*, and ſir *Robert Peyton*, who being curious in their men, were longer in filling their regiments, than *Monmouth* was in compleating his army.

He arrives at Exeter.

The prince moving forwards with his army, on the 8th inſtant arriv'd in the city of *Exeter*, where many impatiently waited his coming, and where Dr. *Burnet* had prepar'd quarters for his higneſs, the deanry of the place. He enter'd the city in as pompous a manner as the time and people wou'd permit; which ſolemn entry was extoll'd and magnify'd at *London*, and a paper publiſh'd with an account of the magnificence of it; adding ſuch a terrible deſcription of the *Findland* and *Swiſs* guards, as made a ſtrong impreſſion upon the vulgar, who look'd on the King's liſt of the *Dutch* forces, though not much ſhort of truth, as a meer fable to leſſen their ſtrength. The firſt thing the prince did was to repair to the cathedral church, and to cauſe *Te Deum* to be ſung for his ſafe arrival. After the collects were ended, Dr. *Burnet* began to read his highneſs's *declaration*, at which the miniſters of the church there preſent were ſo ſurpriz'd, that they immediately left their ſeats and went out; however, the doctor continu'd reading, and having concluded, he cry'd, *God ſave the prince of* Orange! to which the major part of the congregation anſwer'd, *Amen*,

He is under Diſcouragements.

The biſhop of the place, Dr. *Lamplugh*, deſerted his palace, to teſtify his loyalty, and rode poſt to *London*, where he was rewarded with the archbiſhoprick of *York*, which for ill purpoſes had been kept too long vacant. This and his clergy's behaviour gave ſome diſcouragement to the prince, who at firſt met with unexpected backwardneſs and coldneſs. For tho' he landed without obſtruction and proceeded

without oppoſition, yet for the firſt nine days he was not without difficulties and perplexities. Upon good aſſurances, he really believ'd that all the gentlemen in the *weſt* wou'd join with him upon his firſt landing; but during that ſpace ſcarce any perſon of note had come in to him. He found that the mayor and aldermen of *Exeter* came to viſit him, rather out of fear than affection, being employ'd in dubious conſultations about him and his cauſe. He found, that tho' his recruits increas'd, he wanted both money to pay off his men, and the countenance of great perſons: And indeed he began ſo far to doubt the ſucceſs of his expedition, that in a council of war held at *Exeter*, he ſuffer'd it to be propos'd to him to re-imbark for *Holland*. He had now reaſon to wiſh himſelf in the *north* with the active earl of *Danby* and his aſſociates.

His Speech to the Gentry.

On the tenth day, *Nov.* 15th, there appear'd a change, a conſiderable number of the gentry in the adjacent parts, as Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sir *William Portman*, Sir *Francis Ware*, Colonel *Palmer*, &c. Theſe offering their ſervice to his highneſs, who in an affecting ſpeech to them he told them, " Tho' he knew not their perſons, " he had a catalogue of their names, and a cha- " racter of their worth: That he was come ac- " cording to their *invitation*, and his *promiſe*; " oblig'd by his duty to God to protect the *pro- " teſtant religion*, and by his love to mankind " their *liberties* and *properties*. He expected them " ſooner; not that it was now too late, nor that " he wanted their *military aſſiſtance*, ſo much as " their *countenance* and *preſence*, to juſtify his " *declared pretenſions*; though he had brought a " good fleet and an army, to render theſe king- " doms happy, *&c.* yet he relied more on the " *goodneſs of God*, and the *juſtneſs of his cauſe*, " than on any *human power* whatſoever. Yet " ſince

" ſince it was neceſſary to uſe *human means*, and " not to expect *miracles*, they ſhou'd not ne- " glect this gracious opportunity.——Let the " world judge if his pretenſions were not *juſt*, " *generous*, and *ſincere*, and above *price*; ſince he " might have even a BRIDGE OF GOLD " to return back; but it was his principle and " reſolution rather to die in a *good cauſe*, than " live in a *bad one*.

Soon after the arrival of theſe gentlemen at *Exeter*, Sir *Edward Seymour* ſent for Dr. *Burnet*, and ask'd him *Why they had not got an ASSOCIATION? without which they were only a rope of ſand, and none wou'd think themſelves bound to ſtick to them.* He told him, *It was for want of a man of his authority and credit to ſupport ſuch an advice*; and ſo propos'd it to the prince, who with the earl of *Shrewsbury* and the reſt, approved of the motion. Accordingly the doctor drew up an *aſſociation*, the ſubſtance of which was, " A ſolemn engagement firmly to adhere " together in purſuance of the ends of the prince's " *declaration*; and that if any attempt ſhou'd be " made upon his perſon, that then it ſhou'd be " reveng'd on all, by whom or from whom, " any ſuch attempt ſhou'd be made." Which *aſſociation* was ſpeedily ſign'd both here, and in other places, as it was ſent: and particularly by many in the univerſity of *Oxford*, to which place the prince was earneſtly invited, and with a promiſe *That their plate ſhou'd be at his ſervice if he wanted it.* And his highneſs deſign'd to have gone thither, had not the neceſſity of his affairs diverted it.

They ſign an Aſſociation.

As the neighbouring gentry led the way, ſo they were ſoon follow'd by ſeveral other perſons of greater note; the lord *Colcheſter*, ſon to the earl *Rivers*, a lieutenant in the life-guards, waited upon his highneſs, accompa-

Many join with the Prince.

ny'd by the honourable Mr. *Wharton*, colonel *Godfrey*, *John Howe* eſquire, and about threeſcore men on horſeback. Theſe perſons of quality were follow'd by the earl of *Abington*, captain *Clarges*, Mr. *Ruſſel*, and others. But what was ſtill more material, the lord *Cornbury*, ſon to the earl of *Clarendon*, colonel of dragoons, being come to *Salisbury*, and feigning an order from the King to go and force one of the enemy's advanc'd poſts, carry'd with him his own regiment, and thoſe of horſe of *Berwick*, *St. Albans*, and *Fenwick*; and with the major part of them, went over to the prince at *Exeter*. About the ſame time his highneſs was inform'd from *Cheſhire*, that the lord *Delamere*, having notice of his landing, and ſeeing the *Iriſh* throng over in arms, to command the nation more than to aſſiſt the King, had gather'd up a hundred and fifty men, declaring his deſign was to join the prince, and inviting all his tenants to follow him in that honourable cauſe.

The Proceedings of the Earl of Danby.

II. But the moſt uſeful, and moſt active agent for the cauſe of the prince and the nation, was the earl of *Danby*, who in conjunction with the lords *Lumley*, *Fairfax*, *Willoughby*, and other perſons of quality, form'd a ſort of an army in the *north*, of which aſſembly he ſeem'd to be both the head and the heart, the conductor and adviſer. They ſoon made themſelves maſters of the city of *York*; and having diſarm'd, and turn'd out all the *papiſts*, who under the duke of *Newcaſtle* ſtood up for the King, they declar'd for a *free parliament*. But the prince's landing in the *weſt*, inſtead of *Yorkſhire*, as was promis'd, and the news of his cold reception at firſt, was a great diſcouragement to the earl, and more ſo to thoſe he had got together, and form'd into a body; who in a little time began to be very appre-

apprehenſive of the danger of their undertaking. But the earl found out ſeveral ways to keep up their ſpirits and reſolution, and to preſerve the neceſſary union amongſt them; in which he ſhew'd great dexterity, and that he was maſter of the ſtratagems of war, as well as the ſubtilties of a counſellor; a few inſtances will ſerve to give an idea of the man, and may be the more acceptable, becauſe never publiſh'd before.

His great Art and Management.

As he underſtood the neceſſary arts of ſpies, ſo he firſt made himſelf maſter of all intelligence, and got means to intercept all letters of note, which he wou'd diſcover or conceal, according to the fears, or the courage of his aſſociates. As they were fearful of their own danger, ſo he made them ſenſible that it was irretrievable, but by going forwards; and what they had already done was ſufficient to condemn them of treaſon, and make them all dead men, upon any disjunction amongſt them. When their fears increas'd, he wou'd give them comfort by aſſuring them, That *Schomberg* and other old officers had told him formerly, That King *James* was a coward at the bottom; and therefore he was ſure that he wou'd not meet and fight the prince of *Orange*, as was juſt then given out. When they receiv'd news that the King deſign'd to pardon all that wou'd deſert the prince of *Orange*, he immediately form'd a letter, which was given into the hands of a poſt-boy, and was brought to him by way of expreſs and with great noiſe, juſt as he was ſitting down to dinner with his chief companions. As they were deſirous of ſeeing it, he appear'd as careleſs, and put it under his plate, and ſaid *it is only a letter from my lord——and may be read at leiſure.* After dinner he open'd the letter before them all, and the purport was, " That tho' the King had " promis'd a pardon to all that ſhou'd leave the

" prince, yet his lordſhip aſſur'd him as a ſecret, " worth his knowledge, That as ſoon as he " cou'd cauſe a diſunion amongſt them, he was " reſolv'd to hang up all that he cou'd get into " his hands." Again, having intercepted a letter written to the King by an employ'd great man in *Yorkſhire*, who was order'd to obſerve all their proceedings, he ſhew'd it to his company. This letter gave an account to his majeſty " That " the number of the gentry and others, who " appear'd for the prince of *Orange* in thoſe " parts, amounted to about 4000 men." All agreed that this letter ſhould be ſtopp'd, but the earl himſelf, who quickly calling for a pen, added a cipher to the figures, and ſo made the number forty thouſand: and ſent it away by the poſt to *London*; which had a great effect, and contributed much to intimidate the King and his courtiers.

His Succeſs. By the effect of theſe and other means, they ſurpriz'd the important town of *Hull*, and made the lord *Langdale*, the *popiſh* governour, the lord *Montgomery*, and the reſt of the *papiſts*, priſoners; till by the help of the townſmen and others, they ſecur'd the fort and citadel. The great town of *Newcaſtle* receiv'd the lord *Lumley*, and declar'd for the prince and a *free parliament*; and the town of *Berwick* ſhortly follow'd the example; ſo that in a little time the eſtabliſhment in the *north* was compleated, and chiefly by church of *England* men, who were ſtrenuous aſſerters of the *laws* and *liberties* of the nation. To vindicate which the earl of *Danby* publiſh'd a notable piece, intitled *The thoughts of a private perſon, about the juſtice of the gentlemens undertaking at* York, *&c.* which had a great effect upon many doubting perſons, and help'd to diſſipate the miſt, that had darken'd the ſight, or confounded the views of many worthy perſons.

The

The unhappy court at *White-hall* was continually alarm'd at the variety of defections, but ſtill endeavour'd to make the beſt of them in the publick accounts, but that of the lord *Cornbury*'s was exceedingly mortifying. For upon hearing thereof, the artillery, ſoldiers, and the King's equipage, that were advancing towards *Salisbury*, had orders to ſtop their march, it being uncertain whether his majeſty ſhou'd go to the army or not. Yet after divers conſultations, which the earl of *Feverſham* held with the general officers, it was judg'd neceſſary, "That "the King ſhould haſten his departure to the "army, there by his preſence to keep thoſe "firm to their duty who were in a fluctuating "condition. *The Court alarm'd.*

Under theſe diſtractions, moſt of the *proteſtant* lords, both ſpiritual and temporal, who were then in *London*, the two archbiſhops, and five biſhops, two dukes, *Grafton* and *Ormond*, and ten other lords, drew up a moſt wholeſome petition, with great care and ſedateneſs. And tho' they had heard that his majeſty had proteſted, *He wou'd take it highly ill of any man, that ſhould offer him any thing of that nature*; yet the two archbiſhops, with the biſhops of *Ely* and *Rocheſter*, ventur'd to deliver the petition, importing, "That they thought themſelves obliged in du- "ty to God, his majeſty, and their country, to "offer to his majeſty, That in their opinion, "the only viſible way to preſerve his majeſty, "and his kingdom, wou'd be the calling of a "parliament, *regular* and *free* in all its circum- "ſtances. They further beſeech'd his majeſty "to come to ſuch a *treaty*, as might prevent the "effuſion of chriſtian blood. *A Petition of ſeveral Lords.*

A ſharp anſwer was expected to be given to this petition, tho' it contain'd the ſenſe of all the King's friends, except a few deſperate men

men that dreaded an after-reckoning, and ſome others who were willing to run any hazard, before that of a parliament. Therefore, two days after, the lords thought it neceſſary to publiſh the petition, for their own vindication; which ſo enrag'd the *jeſuits*, that they printed ſevere reflections upon it. But the day after, was publiſh'd this anſwer made by the King; *My lords, what you ask of me, I moſt paſſionately deſire: and I promiſe upon the FAITH OF A KING, that I will have a parliament, and ſuch a one as you ask for, as ſoon as ever the prince of* Orange *has quitted this realm. For how is it poſſible a parliament ſhould be* free in all its circumſtances, *as you petition for, while an enemy is in the kingdom, and can make a return of near one hundred voices?* By this unſatisfactory, tho' plauſible anſwer, the King loſt further ground; for the leaſt diſcerning perſons cou'd perceive that the prince's preſence in *England* was the only human ſecurity for the call of a *free parliament*, and that his abſence wou'd leave all things in a more precarious condition than ever.

The King's Anſwer.

He prepares to meet the Prince.

III. It was twelve days after the prince's landing, when the King remov'd from *London*, of which ſpace every day and hour was precious. But his majeſty was confounded between good and bad advice, harraſs'd in his body, diſorder'd in his mind, and diſheartened with ominous apprehenſions, the effects perhaps of conſciouſneſs, as well as ſuperſtition. At the ſame time the mob appear'd as ſuperſtitious and credulous as the *papiſts*, and made obſervations of the ſudden fall of the ſcepter from Queen *Mary*'s ſtatue on the *Royal Exchange*, as portending the downfal of *popery*; and beſides they were poſſeſs'd with a report of a vaſt number of caldrons, gridirons, knives and ſpits, being found in the *popiſh* ſemi-

nary

nary at *St. Johns*; and likewiſe with the belief of a *holy league* between the Kings of *England* and *France*, to extirpate the *proteſtant* religion. The diſturbances, occaſion'd from theſe opinions, was thought to be one reaſon for the King's delaying his departure.

However he reſolv'd to venture his fortune in the field, and ſo ſet forwards on the 17th inſtant. At which time, fearing the example of the lords *Cornbury* and *Colcheſter*, he aſſembled the officers that were ſtill in *London*, among whom were the duke of *Grafton*, the lord *Churchill*, colonel *Trelawny*, and colonel *Kirk*, and deliver'd himſelf after this moving manner, *Accor-* *His Speech to his chief Officers.*
ding to the lords petition, I have engag'd my royal word *to call a* free parliament, *as ſoon as the prince of* Orange *has quitted the kingdom; and am reſolv'd to do all that lies in my power, to quiet the minds of my people, by ſecuring their* religion, laws, *and* liberties. *If you deſire any more, I am ready to grant it. But,* added he, *if after all this, any of you be not ſatisfied, let him declare himſelf: I am willing to grant paſſes to all ſuch as deſire to go over to the prince of* Orange, *and ſpare them the ſhame of deſerting their lawful ſoveraign.* This ſo far affected them, that ſome of them, at leaſt, promis'd to ſpend their blood in his defence. It ſeems that the King had a ſtrong ſuſpicion of the duke of *Grafton*, and therefore, to ſound him, privately told him, That, conſidering his education, he could not pretend to act upon *principles of conſcience*; to which the other reply'd, *That tho' he had but little conſcience, he was of a PARTY that had a conſcience.*

The King having ſent for the lord mayor, *He goes to* and aſſur'd him, *That if he return'd victorious,* Salisbury.
he wou'd perform all his promiſes; he left *London*, and arriv'd at *Salisbury* on the 19th at night,

night, fatigu'd, diſorder'd and troubled with a bleeding at the noſe. He was immediately attended and complimented by ſuch officers of the army as were moſt devoted to him, who all expreſs'd their abhorrence of the lord *Cornbury*'s defection; which nevertheleſs was approv'd of by a great many. The next morning going to view a part of his army a few miles from *Saliſbury*, he was ſeiz'd with a new bleeding, ſo violent, that nothing cou'd ſtop it but the breathing of a vein; which ominous illneſs, as it was call'd, hinder'd him from going the next day to *Warminſter*, the moſt advanc'd poſt of his army. On the ſame unlucky day, moſt of the chief officers, and ſome who diſapprov'd of the lord *Cornbury*'s proceeding, apply'd themſelves to general *Feverſham*, deſiring him to aſſure his majeſty, "That upon any occaſion, they were "ready to ſpend the laſt drop of their blood in "his ſervice; but as to the cauſe of the prince, "they cou'd not in conſcience fight againſt him, "who came over with no other deſign, than "the calling a *feee parliament*, and the ſecurity "of their *religion* and *liberties*.

The Lord Churchill *leaves him.*

This was a plain indication; and the King began to perceive how little he was to depend upon his favourite army. The general ſtrongly ſuſpecting the lord *Churchill*, earneſtly conjur'd his majeſty to have him ſecur'd, to which he cou'd never be brought to conſent. But the next day he was fully convinc'd, when the ſaid lord, who commanded a brigade of about five thouſand men, went over to the prince of *Orange*, with as many as were willing to follow him; among whom were the duke of *Grafton*, colonel *Berkley*, and four or five captains of his regiment. This defection was a mortal ſurprize to the King, who ſtill cou'd hardly bring himſelf to believe ill of a perſon, whom

whom he had loaded with ſuch diſtinguiſhing favours. It has been inſinuated by the King's friends, that he had form'd a deſign, with colonel *Kirk*, who commanded at *Warminſter*, to carry off the King to the prince of *Orange*, which was prevented by his bleeding at the noſe. But this report appear'd to be groundleſs; and as to his revolt, he undertook to vindicate himſelf in a letter to his majeſty, in which he argu'd, "That men were ſeldom ſuſpected of *inſincerity*, when they acted contrary to their *intereſts*. Therefore the great advantages he enjoy'd under him, when he cou'd never hope for better, might convince the world that he acted by a *higher principle*, when he offerr'd ſo much violence to his *inclination* and *intereſt*. This, he ſaid, cou'd proceed from nothing but the dictates of his *conſcience* and his concern for his *religion*, which no man could oppoſe, and with which he thought *Nothing ought to come in competition.* *His Letter to him.*

The declining King finding himſelf thus deſerted, became more irreſolute and confounded; and being falſly alarm'd, as if mareſchal *Schomberg* was marching with all ſpeed to fight him, he left *Salisbury* with great precipitation, like one that fled before an enemy; having firſt publiſh'd a proclamation, "Promiſing a free "pardon to all who had taken up arms, and "join'd with the prince of *Orange*, provided "they deſerted him within twenty days." As he had the mortification to ſee his pardon diſregarded, ſo in his way towards *London*, he met with a greater, in ſeeing himſelf forſaken by his ſon-in-law prince *George*, the duke of *Ormond*, ſir *John Hewet*, and others, who left him at *Andover*. The prince ſent him a remarkable letter, in which he juſtify'd himſelf by the ſuperior ties of *conſcience*, and thus expoſtulated with *The Deſertion and Letter of Prince George.*

with him, *While the reſtleſs ſpirits of the enemies of the* reform'd religion, *back'd by the cruel zeal, and prevailing power of* France, *alarm'd and united all the* proteſtant princes of Chriſtendom, *and engag'd them in ſo vaſt an expence for the ſupport of it; cou'd he act ſo ungenerous and mean a part, as to deny his concurrence in ſuch worthy endeavours*, &c.

IV. As the King's power and intereſt was daily weakned by deſertion and diſcord, the prince's party encreas'd, and gather'd ſtrength by the *aſſociation* at *Exeter*, formerly mention'd. So that upon the news of the King's arrival at *Salisbury*, his highneſs march'd out of *Exeter* to meet him; and his van-guard advancing towards a party of the King's horſe that were entering the town, retreated back to *Salisbury*. And here was a plain appearance of war, and a battle, but it became only a skirmiſh at *Wincaunton*, between a detachment of ſeventy horſe, and fifty dragoons and grenadiers of the royal army, and but twenty five of the prince's men, commanded by a *Scotch*-man. Notwithſtanding this great inequality, the latter fought with that unuſual bravery, that they maintain'd their ground for a conſiderable time. And when they were in danger of being over-power'd, they were reliev'd by a miller, who alarm'd their adverſaries, by ſaying, *He had overtaken a ſtrong detachment of the prince's army, who were juſt entering the town*; which caus'd them to retreat in confuſion, leaving ſeveral dead upon the ſpot, and cornet *Webb* wounded. This ſmall action intimidated the King's forces, who otherwiſe had little inclination to an engagement; and then, being every where magnify'd above the truth, it clearly ſhow'd how much the nation wiſh'd *proſperity to the arms of the prince of* Orange,

A Skirmiſh

Orange, a common health drank in moſt companies.

However, his highneſs us'd the beſt means to avoid all bloodſhed; and being inform'd of the King's retiring towards *London*, and the remains of his army to *Reading*, he reſolv'd to poſſeſs himſelf of *Salisbury*, and make a publick entry into that city. Accordingly on the 19th inſtant, accompany'd by the prince of *Denmark*, the dukes of *Ormond* and *Grafton*, mareſchal *Schomberg*, and a noble train of lords, knights and gentlemen, his highneſs rode in a triumphant manner through the ſtreets of *Salisbury* to the biſhop's palace, aſſign'd for his lodgings. The manner of their entrance into this city was much more glorious than that of *Exeter*; and the ſolemnity of it was much encreas'd by the management of the mayor and corporation. All which had a great influence upon the ſpectators, who were innumerable, and their joy almoſt incredible; for vaſt numbers came out of all parts to get a ſight of him whom they look'd upon as the hopes and deliverer of the nation. *The Prince arrives at* Salisbury.

On the contrary, all was mortifying to the King and court, not only the defection of ſo conſiderable a part of the army, but the ſeveral inſurrections and declarations, in diſtant parts of the nation, gave a ſtrong turn to all their deſigns. The *Dutch* fleet was got ſafe into *Plymouth*, which town the earl of *Bath* had happily ſecur'd for the prince. The lord *Lovelace*, who had been taken by the duke of *Beaufort*, was reſcu'd by the earl of *Shrewsbury* and others, who got poſſeſſion of the important city of *Briſtol*. Likewiſe the earl of *Devonſhire*, with ſeveral other lords and gentlemen, aſſembled at *Derby* on the 20th inſtant, and declar'd for the prince of *Orange*, and *a free parliament*. Two days after was a general rendezvous at *Nottingham*, *Riſing in ſeveral Places.*

ham, conſiſting of a great number of the nobility and gentry, who ſubſcrib'd a remarkable *declaration*, *In which they hop'd that none wou'd be bug-bear'd with the opprobrious terms of* rebels, *by which the court wou'd fright them, to become perfect* ſlaves *to their tyrannical uſurpations. They own'd it* rebellion *to reſiſt a King that govern'd by* law; *but to reſiſt a* tyrant, *who made his will his law, was nothing but a* neceſſary defence. And beſides the rendezvous of the lord *Danby* and others in the north, the defection became almoſt univerſal, and all to make good the prince of *Orange*'s *declaration*. Upon which bottom, the duke of *Norfolk*, ſhortly after, with great numbers, made their publick appearance at the city of *Norwich*, which had been much infeſted with the *popiſh* party.

The Princeſs Anne *retires,*

Amidſt theſe diſtracting accounts, upon the King's return to *London*, the 26th inſtant, his trouble was aggravated by the ſudden receſs of his daughter, the princeſs *Anne*, for whom he had a particular tenderneſs, who was privately gone from *White-hall* the night before. This news moſt ſenſibly touch'd the King, who entering his palace, he in tears cry'd, *God help me, my own children have forſaken me!* It was juſt before reported that the Queen had treated her royal highneſs with great indignity; ſo that the people were incens'd to that degree, that as ſoon as ſhe was miſſing, they offerr'd to tear all the *romiſh* party in pieces, upon a ſurmiſe that they had either privately murther'd her, or baſely confin'd her to a priſon. And the King's own guards appear'd ready to join with the inraged populace, if a letter from the princeſs to the Queen had not been produc'd, which ſhow'd her out of danger. She pathetically complain'd to her majeſty, *That never was any one in ſuch an unhappy condition, ſo divided between duty and affection*

affection to a father and a husband; therefore ſhe knew not what to do, but to follow one, to preſerve the other. It ſoon appear'd that her royal highneſs, with the lady *Churchill*, and the lady *Berkly*, had privately taken coach at the biſhop of *London*'s houſe in the city: From whence they haſtily repaired to the rendezvous at *Nottingham*, attended by that noble prelate dreſs'd in all his military accoutrements, together with the earl of *Dorſet*, and about forty horſemen. At *Nottingham* ſhe was welcom'd with the utmoſt joy and reſpect, and the earl of *Devonſhire* gave her a guard of two hundred men, who ſafely conducted her to *Oxford*; where the prince, her belov'd husband, ſoon after met her with additional forces. *And goes to* Oxford.

Still King *James* had a conſiderable confidence in his fleet, now refitting after the ſtorm, and much rely'd upon the loyalty of the lord *Dartmouth*, and ſome other chief officers. It appears from ſecretary *Pepys*'s letters, never yet publiſhed, that after the prince of *Orange* had landed, his lordſhip ſignify'd his doubts to the King, whether his orders to fight the *Dutch* fleet, if they attempted a deſcent, wou'd juſtify his engaging them now they had actually made it. To which he was anſwer'd from the King and cabinet council, *That he was authoriz'd to proceed againſt the fleet in the ſame hoſtile manner, now the deſcent was made, as he was oblig'd at firſt, if he had met them at ſea*; and accordingly a warrant was ſent to him. Notwithſtanding which we find the lord look'd upon the warrant only as an explanation of his firſt orders, and not giving him any additional authority, and ſtill labour'd under the ſame ſcruple. This caus'd the drawing up of a ſecond warrant; and the ſecretary was order'd to ſend this admiral an account of the receſs of the princeſs *The King's Hopes of the Fleet;*

Anne, and to endeavour to preſerve the fleet from all impreſſions that might be made by ſuch an accident. But as it appears, all this had no great effect; for in concluſion, the lord *Dartmouth*, and his chief officers, ſent a mortifying addreſs to his majeſty, to beg he would call a *free parliament*, as the only means left to quiet the minds of the people.

To no Effect.

V. While the King labour'd under variety of difficulties, an unknown perſon ventur'd to publiſh a paper in *London* and other places, call'd, *The third declaration of the prince of* Orange, *&c.* It was penn'd with great ſpirit and boldneſs, "Setting forth the deſperate de- "ſigns of the *papiſts*, and the extream danger "threatning the nation by their means; requi- "ring all perſons to fall immediately upon ſuch "of them as were in any employments; and "declaring that all that were found in arms, "or about their perſons, ſhou'd be treated by "him, not like *ſoldiers* and *gentlemen*, but as "*robbers* and *banditti*, and be made incapable "of quarter. And as to all magiſtrates that "ſhou'd refuſe to anſwer the ends of his *decla-* "*ration*, he wou'd look upon them as the moſt "criminal and infamous of all men; and wou'd "require at their hands the life of every ſingle "*proteſtant*, and every houſe that ſhou'd be "burnt or deſtroy'd by their treachery and cow- "ardice.

A ſpurious Declaration *publiſh'd.*

This was the boldeſt attempt that ever was made by a private perſon, and had extraordinary effect; for then none doubted but it was the prince's *declaration*, tho' he knew nothing of it: And it was never known who was the author of it; no perſon ever claiming the merit of it, but one *Hugh Speke* of late years, when no man, perhaps, cou'd contradict him. The court and the

the *popiſh* party were extreamly alarm'd, and the city in a flame; and this forg'd *declaration* was carry'd to the lord mayor, and he himſelf threaten'd, if he wou'd not put it in execution. Many diſorders happen'd upon it from the prentices, and others, but ſtill without any open bloodſhed.

The King's Difficulties.

And now we may conſider King *James*, the monarch of three kingdoms, under the weight of greater difficulties than the meaneſt of his ſubjects. His countenance was pale and dejected, his conſtitution diſorder'd and unhing'd, and his intellects diſtracted, if not infatuated; ſo that to many he became more the object of commiſeration, than indignation. He was indeed ready to lay hold on any appearing ſupport.

He applies to the Lords.

Accordingly, he ſummon'd all the lords in town, that were known to be firm *proteſtants*; but upon ſpeaking to ſome of them in private, they advis'd him to call a general meeting of all the privy-counſellors and peers, that cou'd be had, to ask their advice and opinion. And tho' moſt of theſe were ſuch as the King had diſoblig'd and neglected in the height of his proſperity, yet upon this tender occaſion, they forgot all, and like true patriots were ready to give ſuch wholeſom advice, as was as advantagious to him, as it was beneficial to their country. Amongſt the reſt, the earl of *Clarendon*, finding the height of the diſtemper, ſpoke with the freedom of a faithful phyſician, and enumerated the unwarrantable proceedings of the governing party, which had occaſion'd thoſe unhappy ſymptoms, now appearing in the body politick. At length he concluded with the reſt, the neceſſity of calling a *free parliament*. Then to remove the difficulties that were objected, they repreſented to his majeſty three particulars, "*Firſt*, To grant a general pardon to all

Their Advice.

" thoſe who either came over with the prince " of *Orange*, or had join'd him ſince his land- " ing. *Secondly*, To depute ſome of the lords " to his highneſs to enter into a *treaty* with " him, in order to an accommodation. And, " *Laſtly*, To turn all *papiſts* immediately out of " their employments; to convince the world " *that he acted a ſincere part.*

He orders a Parliament and a Pardon.

This being the joint opinion of ſo many great men, the King began to incline towards it, and taking that night to conſider of their advice, the next day wiſely declar'd in council, That he reſolv'd to have a *free parliament* on the 15th of *January* next; and order'd writs to be iſſu'd out accordingly, together with a deſirable proclamation to promote free elections, and a particular promiſe of a pardon to all who had taken up arms againſt him. He likewiſe further declar'd, That he wou'd nominate *commiſſioners* to treat with the prince of *Orange*; but as to the laſt part of the lords advice relating to the *roman catholicks*, this being a tender point, his majeſty only ſaid, *He wou'd leave that matter to be debated in parliament.* However, Sir *Edward Hales*, the lieutenant of the *Tower*, having been ſuſpected by the city, as if he had deſign'd to bombard it, he turn'd him out of his government, and gave it to colonel *Skelton*; who by a viciſſitude of fortune, was made the commander of a fortreſs, where he had lately been a priſoner.

DECEMBER.

Three Lords are ſent to treat with the Prince.

VI. The perſons propos'd to be ſent to treat with the prince of *Orange*, were the marquis of *Hallifax*, the earl of *Rocheſter*, and the lord *Godolphin*, with whom ſome wou'd have join'd the biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Ely*: But after a full

full conſultation their number was fix'd to theſe three, the marquiſs of *Hallifax*, the earl of *Nottingham*, and the lord *Godolphin*, who were allow'd to be men of great abilities and application, and who in the laſt council had ſhew'd a particular zeal for his majeſty's perſon. The earl of *Rocheſter* was as capable of this negotiation, and as agreeable to the prince, as any of the reſt; but it was neceſſary that either he or *Hallifax* muſt be left out, and therefore the earl got himſelf excus'd. Juſt before the departure of the commiſſioners, his brother *Clarendon*, who expected to have been one, without making a farther myſtery of it, went directly over to the prince of *Orange*, which gave many occaſion to think he was gone before them, either to defeat the negotiation, or to give the prince a jealouſy of the marquiſs of *Hallifax*, the irreconcilable enemy of his family.

Counter-Advices to the King.

On the 2d of this month, the three commiſſioners began their journey, to the mighty expectation of the city and country. And now the treaty being ſet on foot, by the advice of the wiſeſt and moſt moderate men; the king might have had a little reſt, after his toils; but counter-deſigns were then in *embrio*, and he was continually diſturb'd by the ſuggeſtions and imaginations of his *popiſh* friends, who had reduc'd him to all theſe difficulties. They plainly ſaw that a free parliament was to be call'd, and a treaty wou'd be ſhortly concluded, the conſequences of which, tho' ſafe enough for their maſter, and his laſting eſtabliſhment, would prove fatal to them and their cauſe. It was not ſo much the coming of the prince of *Orange* with an army that gave them theſe melancholy apprehenſions; but rather the general diſcontents of the nobility, clergy, and people, and an expectance of a ſevere examination of their illegal proceedings

in a free parliament; and therefore they began to think of perſuading the royal family to croſs the ſea, as ſafeſt and moſt hopeful for them and their party.

On the 6th of this month, the three commiſſioners by an expreſs acquainted his majeſty, "That they were to meet the prince of *Orange* "that night at *Amesbury*." But the next day, they inform'd him, "That his highneſs had "made a new appointment to meet them at "*Hungerford*, and had ſent them to the earls of "*Clarendon* and *Oxford*, to deſire them to make "their propoſals in writing." This meſſage from the prince was thought to be evaſive, or contemptuous; not only becauſe he had refus'd an oral treaty with the King's commiſſioners, but alſo becauſe he had deputed two perſons to them, of whom the laſt had never been concern'd in any publick affair, and the firſt was a profeſs'd enemy to the marquiſs of *Hallifax*, the principal manager on the King's part. From theſe firſt ſteps, and from a particular letter from one of the commiſſioners, the moſt zealous for the King's religion, the *popiſh* cabal (particularly *Barillon* the *French* ambaſſador, and count *Lauzan*) began to ſuſpect the iſſue of this negotiation, and preſſingly advis'd the King to ſecure himſelf, his queen, and the prince of *Wales*, by a ſpeedy receſs from the nation. They likewiſe terrify'd the Queen with an impeachment from parliament, and with the apprehenſions of ſomething diſmal, that ſhe and her ſon might expect. So it was ſoon agreed that her majeſty and the young prince ſhould ſecretly withdraw on the firſt opportunity. Only the King ſeem'd reſolv'd to wait for a full and clear account of the treaty.

During

During which time there happen'd a ſecond kind of a skirmiſh at *Reading* between ſome part of the King's and prince's forces, who endeavour'd to gain ſome advantagious poſt. On the King's ſide the *Iriſh* were moſtly concern'd, of whom a few were kill'd and taken; the reſt were driven away by ſuch a ſtratagem, as ſhew'd that they were no better skill'd in military, than they had been in ſtate affairs. *A ſecond Skirmiſh.*

On the ſame day the three commiſſioners, *Hallifax*, *Nottingham*, and *Godolphin*, appointed to treat with the prince at *Hungerford*, deliver'd to his highneſs their propoſals in writing, intimating, "Since the cauſes of complaint were all to be "referr'd, by conſent, to a *free parliament*, his "majeſty had declar'd his reſolution to call one; "in order to which he had iſſu'd out his *proclamation* and his *writs*. And to prevent any in- "terruption in it, he conſented to every thing "that cou'd be reaſonably deſir'd for the ſecu- "rity of thoſe that ſhou'd come to it: He had "therefore ſent them to him for adjuſting of "all matters, relating to the freedom of *elections*, "and the ſecurity of *ſitting*, and was now ready "to enter into a *treaty* about it. He propoſes, "that in the mean time the reſpective armies "might be reſtrain'd at ſuch a diſtance from "*London*, as may remove all fears of the *par-* "*liament* being diſturb'd; being deſirous that "the meeting of it may be no longer delay'd, "than is conſiſtent with the neceſſary *forms*." The prince immediately advis'd with all the peers and great men, and one day was taken to return an anſwer. *The Propoſals to the Prince.*

Here the marquiſs of *Hallifax* ſent for Dr. *Burnet*; but the prince objected, *That tho' he wou'd not ſuſpect any thing from their meeting, others might.* So he did not ſpeak to him, but in the hearing of others. Yet he took an oc-

A private Diſcourſe. caſion privately to ask the doctor, *If they deſir'd to have the King in their hands?* The other ſaid, *By no means; for they wou'd not hurt his perſon.* He then ask'd, *What if he had a mind to go away?* He reply'd, *Nothing was ſo much to be wiſh'd for.* When he told this to the prince, he approv'd of both theſe anſwers, as he himſelf relates it.

The Prince his Anſwer to the Lords. The prince order'd the earls of *Oxford*, *Shrewſbury*, and *Clarendon*, to treat with the King's commiſſioners; and at *Littlecot*, the 9th inſtant, they delivered theſe ſeven propoſals, in anſwer to thoſe of his majeſty. In ſubſtance, " 1. That " all *papiſts*, and perſons unqualify'd by law, " may be disbanded, and remov'd from all em- " ployments. 2. That all *proclamations* againſt " him be recall'd, and all perſons ſet at liberty " that had been committed upon his account. " 3. That the cuſtody of the *Tower* of *London*, " be immediately put into the hands of the ſaid " city. 4. If the King ſhou'd think fit to be " at *London*, during the *ſitting* of the parlia- " ment, that he may be there alſo, with equal " number of his guards: Or if the King will " be at any place from *London*, that he may be " at a place of the ſame diſtance; and that the " reſpective armies be from *London* thirty miles; " and that no more forces be brought into *En-* " *gland*. 5. That for the ſecurity of *London*, " *Tilbury* fort be put into the hands of the ſaid " city. 6. That a ſufficient part of the pub- " lick revenue be aſſign'd him, for the mainte- " nance of his troops, till the ſitting of the par- " liament. 7. That to prevent the landing of " foreign troops, *Portſmouth* may be put into " ſuch hands, as ſhall be agreed on between the " King and him.

The

The King's commiſſioners, all faithful to his majeſty, were not a little pleas'd with theſe propoſals, and immediately ſent them away to their maſter. They were look'd upon as ſo reaſonable and moderate in this juncture, that the King himſelf, upon the reading of them, ſaid, *That they were fairer than he cou'd, or did expect.* This was on *Monday* evening, the 10th of *December*, which time ſeems to be the *criſis* of the King's fate, the moſt critical hour in his whole reign. There was now no apparent reaſon to fear the ſafety of his perſon, tho' his cauſe muſt have been in danger; ſo that his preſent compliance wou'd, humanly ſpeaking, have kept the crown upon his head, and defeated the ſuppos'd ambition of the prince of *Orange*, which yet at that time was hardly ſo much as ſuppos'd by the generality of the nation. Notwithſtanding all defections and revolts, the King's perſon and his cauſe ſeem'd now ſufficiently diſtinguiſh'd, ſo that the yielding up the latter to the laws of the land, wou'd have ſecur'd both his perſon, and his legal government. But his mind being confounded between two oppoſite ſorts of counſels, or rather between faithful and fooliſh, he knew not what advice or meaſures he ſhou'd take. *The King in Suſpenſe.*

However, he thought it proper that evening to call an extraordinary council; and beſides all the lords that were in town, he ſent for the lord mayor, and the ſheriffs, whom he charg'd to take particular care of the city, and to omit nothing, in their power, for the preſervation of the peace of it. He acquainted them with the departure of the Queen and the prince, the night before, but ſtill promis'd them, *That he wou'd ſtay with them.* All ſeem'd unanimous for his compliance with the prince's *propoſals*, and all things appear'd as if he had deſign'd it: And further, at parting, the *He calls a great Council.*

the ſame council was order'd to attend him next morning, to give their further advice upon this exigency of affairs. Before they broke up, we are told that the King, under ſome diſtraction of mind, in the midſt of a pauſe, earneſtly apply'd himſelf to the earl of *Bedford*, father to the executed lord *Ruſſel*, ſaying, *My lord, you are a good man, and have a great influence;——You can do much for me at this time.* To which he anſwer'd, *I am an old man, and can do but little;* ——Then added with a deep ſigh, *I had once a ſon,——who now cou'd have been very ſerviceable to your majeſty:* Which word is ſaid to have ſtruck the King half dead with ſilence and dejection.

Upon the breaking up of this great council, which expected to have met him the next morning with full ſatisfaction, the King enter'd into a deep conſultation with his *popiſh* friends who had brought him to theſe miſchiefs. It was viſible to them that nothing cou'd ſave his majeſty in a *free parliament*, but the total delivering up of *popery* in the nation, and paſſing ſuch acts, as wou'd be effectual bars to the return of it again. Being poſſeſs'd with this proſpect, they ſhow'd that they were reſolv'd to ſacrifice their King, and every thing elſe, rather than ſee their deſigns blaſted. They urg'd his majeſty with the ſenſe of the diſhonour he muſt ſuſtain in ſubmitting to the *hard terms* impos'd upon him by the prince of *Orange:* They alſo ſo magnify'd the power and zeal of the King of *France*, that this unhappy monarch came to be perſwaded, contrary to his ſolemn promiſes of a parliament, That it was better to fly to *France*, than to remain in his own kingdom, *and ſubmit*, as they ſaid, *to a victorious prince, and an offended parliament.* In this they prevail'd ſo effectually, That his majeſty reſolv'd to hear no more of propoſals,

The Popiſh *Party prevails with him.*

propoſals, but to abandon his ſubjects, and throw himſelf into the arms of that King, whoſe ſuccours he had lately refus'd. It has ſince appear'd, that this deſign was form'd by his *popiſh* adviſers, a fortnight before, when the King went to *Salisbury*, when the lord *Dover* and Mr. *Brent* made no ſecret of it, frequently ſaying, *That the King was ready to withdraw himſelf out of the kingdom.* Not only ſo, but a letter was ſent to him at *Salisbury*, telling him, *It was the unanimous advice of all the* catholicks *at* London; urging him that he wou'd come back from thence, and leave the kingdom; and aſſuring him, *That within two years, or leſs, it wou'd be in ſuch confuſion, that he might return and have his ends of it.*

His ſtrange Proceedings.

It is uncertain whether the King came in to this advice at that time; but ſure it is he did very nearly imitate it this fatal night, in which little compaſs, he brought about four things that can hardly be parallell'd in hiſtory. The *firſt* was his ſending a letter to his general the earl of *Feverſham*, encouraging him to disband his army, which took effect. The *next* was the ordering all the *writs* to be burnt, that were not ſent out, for the calling of the parliament, and entring a *caveat* againſt thoſe that were already ſent out. The *third* was, throwing the broad ſeal into the *Thames*; juſt as he was finiſhing the *fourth*, his leaving his palace, and making the beſt of his way towards *France*. This laſt was done between two and three in the morning, accompany'd only by Sir *Edward Hales*, Mr. *Sheldon* and *Labadie*, who the night before had taken care of the Queen and the young prince; and this without communicating his journey to any of his *popiſh* favourites.

His Flight,

And Deſertion.

The manner of his departure was ſurprizing to all men of both parties; and it was the concluſion of all the breaches of faith in this reign, particularly

particularly that of the promiſe of his ſtay, and of a free parliament. All this was done without any publick reaſons given; ſo that it appear'd to the world a voluntary, open and unforc'd *deſertion* of the government of *England*; at leaſt as much as was conſiſtent with a ſecret and incompatible deſire to retain it, and at a time when many thouſands in the nation wou'd have been glad to have ſeen an accommodation. And thus in a moment was an army in effect disbanded without money, parliament *writs* deſtroy'd, the broad ſeal thrown away, and the people left without a governor, like ſheep without a ſhepherd. And if ever there was a real *deſertion* of a kingdom, and ever a people left to take care of themſelves, this was certainly the time.

And now all thoſe impediments and difficulties, and the force of thoſe laws, formerly mention'd, in King *Charles*'s reign, in this caſe ſeem'd to be at an end; and this *deſertion* ſet at liberty thoſe conſciences that were not fully convinc'd at the King's former exorbitancies; and they might have continu'd ſo, if a great change had not happen'd ſo ſoon after. Here ſeems to be the end of the *revolution*; for what the King did afterward was not to be compar'd to this, any otherwiſe than as it was a confirmation, or reiteration of the ſame thing.

We ſhall conclude this period with an obſervation of a great man, "That King *James* might "have kept the crown upon his head as eaſily as "his hat in a high wind. That wind indeed "wou'd have born hard upon it, but wou'd have "only carry'd off thoſe ſuperfluous ornaments, "which were too weakly riveted, and too little "united, to bear a ſtorm.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

From the Deſertion of King James, *to his Total Dereliction of the Nation, and the Vacancy of the Throne.*

Containing thirteen Days.

I. THE ſtrange turn was apparent on the 11th in the morning, when the great council, according to order, were to have met again at *White-hall*; but now all were diſappointed, and for a while confounded. For upon the noiſe of the King's departure, all the city were in amazement, and immediately filled with wonder and variety of conjectures: Some were terrify'd with the proſpect of anarchy, that ſeem'd to threaten the city and kingdom; but moſt of them caſt their eyes towards the prince of *Orange*, and with that effect, that in a few hours there was an appearance of government, and a regular adminiſtration. The duke of *Northumberland* went immediately to the earl of *Rocheſter*, to acquaint him with his deſign of going over to the prince; but the earl adviſ'd him to a ſhorter way, to aſſemble his troop of guards, and declare for his highneſs, which he did. The marquis of *Miremont* follow'd his example, and turn'd all the papiſts out of his regiment of horſe. And the other principal officers of the army about the town met at *White-hall*, and ſent an expreſs to the prince, to acquaint him with the King's going away, and to aſſure his highneſs, "That they "wou'd aſſiſt the lord mayor to keep the city "quiet till his arrival there.

The City confounded.

Some Order.

But

The Lords Declaration at Guild-Hall.

But the great ſtep towards an *eſtabliſhment*, was the unanimous aſſembly of all the lords ſpiritual and temporal, then in and about the town, the two archbiſhops, five biſhops, and twenty two temporal lords. Theſe all ſolemnly met at *Guild-Hall*; and ſending for the lord mayor and aldermen of the city, who readily attended, they made a memorable *declaration*, importing, "That they had reſted ſecure upon "the King's iſſuing out his *proclamation* and "*writs* for a *free parliament*; but having now, "by pernicious counſels, withdrawn himſelf, "they cou'd not be ſilent under theſe calami-"ties, wherein thoſe counſels had ſo miſerably "involv'd theſe realms: Wherefore they reſolv'd "to apply themſelves to the prince of *Orange*, "who had with great kindneſs, vaſt expence, "and much hazard undertaken to procure a "*free parliament*, to reſcue them from the im-"minent dangers of *ſlavery* and *popery*." They further declare, "They will uſe their utmoſt "endeavours to aſſiſt his highneſs in the ob-"taining ſuch a parliament, wherein their *laws* "and *liberties* may be ſecur'd, and the church "of *England* in particular, with a due *liberty* to "*proteſtant diſſenters*; and in general, that the "*proteſtant religion* and *intereſt* over the whole "world may be ſupported and encourag'd."

They ſend to the Prince.

Which *declaration* being ſubſcrib'd by all the lords, four of them were deſir'd immediately to go and attend his highneſs with it; and at the ſame time to acquaint him, That among other things, they had remov'd colonel *Skelton* from being lieutenant of the *Tower*, and had given the government of it to the lord *Lucas*, a perſon of unqueſtion'd worth and honour.

Beſides theſe, that nothing might be wanting, they ſent the following order to the lord *Dartmouth* in the fleet, never yet publiſh'd; *Where-*

as

as his majeſty has this morning privately withdrawn himſelf, we the lords ſpiritual and temporal, whoſe names are ſubſcrib'd, being deſirous to prevent the effuſion of blood in this juncture, and conſidering the prince of Orange's *fleet is now on the* Engliſh *coaſt, and may poſſibly meet that under your lordſhip's command; we do therefore require you to give ſuch neceſſary orders, as you ſhall think fit, for the prevention of all acts of hoſtility, and that no inconvenience may happen in the fleet; we do likewiſe require you, forthwith to remove all* popiſh *officers out of their reſpective commands.*

Addreſſes from the City and Lieutenancy of London.

The lords having open'd ſo large a paſſage, the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council immediately drew up a remarkable addreſs to the prince, *Declaring their thankfulneſs to heaven for his* miraculous ſucceſs; *and that having been diſappointed of a* free parliament *by the King's withdrawing himſelf, they preſum'd to make him their* refuge; *and did, in the name of this capital city, implore his* protection, *and humbly beſeech'd him to repair to this city, where he wou'd be receiv'd with univerſal joy and ſatisfaction.* This example was the ſame day follow'd by another addreſs from the lieutenancy of *London*, wherein *They expreſs'd their gratitude to the prince for expoſing his perſon to ſo many dangers, and for his* unparallel'd undertaking. *They promis'd not to be wanting in the preſervation of the city in peace and ſafety, till his happy arrival, which they begg'd might be with all convenient ſpeed, for the perfecting the great work he had ſo happily begun, to the general joy and ſatisfaction of them all.* Both theſe addreſſes were diſpatch'd with all expedition, and preſented by proper officers.

Riſings among the Mob.

Tho' the militia of *London* and *Weſtminſter* were preſently in arms, to preſerve their cities in peace till the arrival of their expected deliverer, nevertheleſs both were alarm'd with the ſudden

ſudden eruptions of the mob, the ſcum of a nation that ſubſides in a calm, and mounts in a ſtorm. As the *papiſts* were the chief occaſions of the preſent diſtractions, ſo they now became the principal ſufferers. The new erected *maſs-houſes* were outragiouſly pull'd down, and the materials burnt with the moſt riotous acclamations; while common rogues, mixing with the leſs deſigning apprentices, took opportunity to plunder many houſes, particularly thoſe of the *Spaniſh* and *Florentine* ambaſſadors, in which, and in other places, they did infinite damage; deſtroying, as well as embezzeling goods of the greateſt value. Theſe proceedings ſoon after infected the other parts of the nation with ungovern'd fury. In the midſt of theſe inſurrections, they accidentally ſeiz'd upon the lord chancellor *Jeffreys*, who had diſguis'd himſelf in a poor ſea-man's habit, in order to eſcape to *Hamburgh*. He being the moſt obnoxious of all the *proteſtant* miniſters, they with the higheſt inſults and indignities brought him to the lord mayor, and got him lodg'd in the *Tower*, where he ſoon ended his days, under great miſery and affliction.

Chancellor Jeffreys's *Commitment.*

What added to the diſtraction of the times, was the ſudden disbanding of the King's forces; for the earl of *Feverſham*, upon his majeſty's orders, call'd a council of war at *Uxbridge*, and from the words in the letter, *That the King did not expect they ſhou'd reſiſt a foreign force*, concluded that the army ſhou'd be disbanded. And accordingly four thouſand men the earl had with him were immediately diſmiſs'd. Of all which he gave an account to the prince of *Orange* in a letter; to which receiving no anſwer, it was interpreted as if his highneſs did not approve of his conduct in this critical juncture. And indeed moſt of the lords in *London* blam'd

The Army diſbanded.

blam'd him for this raſh proceeding, without the leaſt advice of the peers of the realm, if he thought it too much to wait for his highneſs's directions.

This cenſure ſeem'd confirm'd by what happen'd the next day; an unaccountable pannick fear that alarm'd the city and country after an unheard-of manner. A ſudden report was rais'd towards mid-night at *Weſtminſter*, "That the "*Iriſh* were up, and were approaching *London*, "firing of houſes, and putting man, woman "and child to the ſword." This uproar and outcry ſo gather'd, as it went along, that in a few moments the train'd bands appear'd in arms, and every body leaving their beds in a hurry, plac'd lights in their windows, and with half their cloaths on betook themſelves, the moſt fearful to flight, the moſt reſolute to their weapons. And what is more ſtrange, is, that this falſe alarm the ſame night flew like lightning, and with the ſame effects, to all the chief places in the kingdom; all perſons of courage reſolving to deſtroy all the *Iriſh* and *papiſts* in *England*, in caſe any injury were offerr'd them. The opinions concerning the cauſe of this general fright, are too numerous to be diſcuſs'd here. *Hugh Speke* has ſince challeng'd the honour of this ſtratagem. It is moſt natural to ſuppoſe it proceeded from the real inſolence of the *Iriſh*, and this ſudden disbanding the army. However, this night afterwards obtain'd the name of *The Iriſh Night*, and may ſerve to ſhew, *That when a nation is once well heated, every little accident will throw it into a flame.* *A general fright.*

II. In the mean time the prince of *Orange* mov'd forwards by ſlow ſteps, and went from *Hungerford* to *Newbury*, and from thence to *Abington*; reſolving to have gone to *Oxford*, to *The Prince his Progreſs.*

receive the compliments of that univerſity, and to meet the princeſs *Anne* at that city. At *Abington* he was ſurpriz'd with the ſtrange news of the King's deſertion, and the great confuſions in *London* and the neighbouring parts. This he cou'd hardly believe, till the expreſſes arriv'd to him from the lords and others, which ſatisfy'd him how neceſſary it was to loſe no time, but make all poſſible haſte to *London*. Therefore he ſent a meſſage to *Oxford* to excuſe his non-appearance there, and to offer the *aſſociation* to them, which was ſign'd by almoſt all the heads, and the principal men of the univerſity; and even by ſeveral who prov'd no friends to the after eſtabliſhment.

The care of the Publick.

And now the prince found himſelf in greater circumſtances than ever, and under more open encouragements to purſue and finiſh his great work. The invitations to him before were in effect private, and ſometimes precarious, to relieve the people, and help them to oblige the King to reaſonable terms: But now they were open and avow'd, and by the heads of the powers of the realm, *eccleſiaſtical*, *civil* and *military*, who invited him to take the government upon himſelf till the meeting of a free parliament. Accordingly he acted as King, and as maſter to that King who for a while had left him room, and a fair field to range in. And immediately he took care to remedy the miſchiefs ariſing from the fears of the *Iriſh Night*, and the diſorders of the disbanded ſoldiers that wanted ſubſiſtance, and by a ſhort *declaration*, "commanded the officers of the ſe-"veral regiments, as well as the common ſol-"diers, to repair to certain places, and form "themſelves into regular bodies as before, and "expect further orders." At the ſame time he ſent to the earl of *Danby*, to deſire his lord-

ſhip

ſhip to come to him, and order'd the accounts of the King's forces to be brought to him. He alſo diſpatch'd the lord *Churchill*, to re-aſſemble his troop of horſe-guards, and directed the duke of *Grafton* to go with his regiment of foot-guards and take poſſeſſion of *Tilbury-Fort*; and ſo he haſtned towards *London*, but not with that ſpeed that was wiſh'd for in that city.

The King ſtop'd in his Journey.

At *Windſor* the prince was ſurpriz'd with the unwelcome news that the King was ſtopp'd and taken by certain fiſhermen near *Feverſham* in *Kent*, who not knowing his majeſty, had rifled his pockets, and treated him with great indignities, and carry'd him priſoner into the town. Immediately the prince ſent *Zuyleſtein* to *Feverſham*, to ſee the King ſafe, and at full liberty to go where he pleas'd: The King was ſoon known, and tho' for a while they kept him as a priſoner, yet they ſhew'd him as much reſpect as they cou'd pay him. The earl of *Winchelſea*, and ſome perſons of quality came to him, and tender'd him their beſt ſervice. But ſtill he endeavour'd to be gone, and his anſwer was, *The beſt ſervice you can do me, is to facilitate my departure, and procure means to carry me beyond ſea.* He was at laſt prevail'd upon to ſtay, but more by conſtraint, than inclination. This was an accident that ſeem'd of no great conſequence, yet it begun that turn, to which all the difficulties that afterwards diſorder'd the *Engliſh* affairs, may juſtly be imputed.

This uncommon adventure had various effects upon the prince of *Orange*, and the city of *London*: The former deſir'd that the King ſhou'd not have been ſtopp'd, nor brought back; and the latter began to turn their indignation into compaſſion, and ſeem'd glad of an opportunity to convince his majeſty, *That there was never any ill deſign againſt his perſon.* The peers

and privy counſellors were likewiſe variouſly affected with this news; eſpecially by reaſon of the extraordinary advance they had made to the prince of *Orange*. However, after ſome debates, and different opinions, the latter appointed four lords of their members, to wait upon his majeſty, and to invite him to his palace at *White-hall*; to which, with outward ſigns of reluctance, he conſented. The peers alſo diſpatch'd an expreſs to the prince, to acquaint him that the King was ſtill in *England*; at which time his highneſs was got to *Windſor*, and had erected his ſtandard upon that noble caſtle.

He is invited to London.

As the prince was very much ſurpriz'd, ſo he was no leſs diſpleas'd to meet with new obſtructions, when his affairs neceſſarily and ſpeedily call'd him to *London*. Therefore, after a full conſultation with his great council, he diſpatch'd an officer to the King, to deſire him to continue at *Rocheſter*. But this expreſs miſſing his way, the King left that place on *Sunday* morning the 16th inſtant, and about four in the afternoon enter'd the city of *London*, as it were, in triumph; and enter'd *White-hall*, attended by ſeveral noblemen, and many of the guards; while multitudes of the populace crowded to ſee him, and to welcome his return with loud acclamations. And the night concluded with bells, bonefires, and the uſual demonſtrations of joy and pleaſure.

His triumphant Return.

III. And now we may look upon King *James* as, in a manner, re-inſtated on his throne, and in new poſſeſſion of his royal palace, which he had ſo inglorioufly deſerted. The firſt thing he did was the iſſuing out an order of council for preventing the like outrages as had been committed in his abſence, and to ſuppreſs all riotous

The King's laſt publick Acts.

riotous and tumultuous meetings. It was obſerv'd, that ſufficient care had been taken for this by the privy-council before; and his ſhowing his zeal for the *popiſh* party in his firſt act after his return, was interpreted as if it was only to ſerve them. He likewiſe order'd ſecretary *Pepys* to take off the embargo that had juſt before been laid upon outward-bound veſſels; all which was for the advantage of his friends. And during the ſhort time he ſtay'd at *White-hall*, the place was crowded with *Iriſh* men, prieſts, *jeſuits* and *roman catholicks*, after the former manner; and one of the prieſts ſent an imperious meſſage to the lord chamberlain *Mulgrave*, to ſupply his lodgings with new furniture, *for he meant to continue in them.* The King began to take courage, and to talk in his ordinary high ſtrain, and to juſtify what he had done; ſo that all things were apparently returning into the old channel.

But when he came to reflect upon the ſtate of his affairs, he found it ſo broken, that he wou'd gladly have come to ſome terms with the prince of *Orange*, who had now the chief power in his own hands: Therefore he diſpatch'd the earl of *Feverſham* with a letter to invite him to the palace at St. *James*'s, "with "what number of guards and troops he ſhou'd "think convenient, that they might amicably "and perſonally confer together about redreſſing the publick grievances. *He ſends an Invitation to the Prince.*

When the news of the King's return came to *Windſor*, the prince thought the privy-council had not us'd him well, who, after their invitation to him to accept of the government, had made this great ſtep without his knowledge. And now the ſcene was alter'd, and new counſels were to be taken, according to this unexpected obſtruction. The prince heard the

opinions of all the nobility about him, not only thoſe who had come with him, but thoſe who had come to him, among whom the marquiſs of *Hallifax*, late commiſſioner, was one. Upon a debate, all agreed, "That the palace of "*White-hall*, being crowded with *Iriſh papiſts*, "*prieſts* and *jeſuits*, his highneſs cou'd not with "eaſe and ſafety remain at St. *James*'s, where "he muſt of *neceſſity* go the next day, unleſs "the King himſelf, and his *popiſh* guards, were "remov'd within a reaſonable diſtance from "*London*." They found that neither the King, nor the prince, nor the city cou'd have been ſafe, if they had been both near to each other. Therefore it was thought neceſſary to adhere cloſely to the great point, the King's *deſertion* of his people; and not to yield up that, by entring upon any *treaty* with him. And ſince the earl of *Feverſham*, who brought the King's letter, was come without a paſsport, he was for ſome days put under an arreſt.

The Prince refuſes to treat with him.

The next conſideration was how to diſpoſe of the King's perſon, which was a tender point indeed. Some propos'd, the keeping him a Priſoner, at leaſt till the nation was ſettled, and till *Ireland* was ſecur'd; and it was judg'd, his being kept in cuſtody, wou'd be ſuch a check upon all his party, as wou'd oblige them to ſubmit. *Ireland* was in apparent danger; and this reſtraint might bring *Tyrconnel* to deliver up that government, and to diſarm the *papiſts*, which wou'd both preſerve that Kingdom, and the *proteſtants* in it. But becauſe it might raiſe compaſſion, and cauſe diſorder, if the King ſhou'd be kept priſoner in *England*, the ſending him to *Breda* was propos'd for that purpoſe. And the earl of *Clarendon* urg'd it warmly, upon the account of the *Iriſh proteſtants*. The prince acknowledg'd, "That this might be good

He refuſes to keep him priſoner;

"and

" and wiſe advice; but it was that to which " he cou'd not conſent. He ſaid, That *tho' he* " *cou'd appear againſt the King at the head of an* " *army in this great cauſe; yet as to his perſon,* " *now he had him in his power, he cou'd not make* " *him a priſoner: And he knew the princeſs cou'd* " *never enjoy her ſelf, if any ſuch thing were done.* " Nor did he know what diſputes it might " raiſe, or what effect it might have upon the " parliament that was to be call'd. He was " firmly reſolv'd not to ſuffer any thing to be " done againſt his perſon; but ſaw it was ne- " ceſſary to ſend him out of *London:* And he " wou'd order a guard to attend upon him, who " ſhou'd only defend his perſon, without put- " ting any reſtraint upon him.

But orders his Removal.

At laſt a reſolution was taken of ſending the lords *Hallifax*, *Shrewsbury* and *Delamere* to *London*, who by conſent in writing, were to deſire the King to remove immediately from *Whitehall* to *Ham*; but firſt they were to order the *Engliſh* guards, then about the court, to be drawn off, and ſent to quarters out of town; and then, count *Solms* was to come with the *Dutch* guards, and take poſſeſſion of all the poſts about the court. This was obey'd without miſchief or reſiſtance, but not without great murmurings, and fears of bloodſhed; and it was midnight before all was ſettled.

Notice given to him at Night.

Having gain'd this point, the three lords ſent to the earl of *Middleton*, to deſire him to let his majeſty know, " That they had a meſſage from " the prince which muſt be deliver'd immedi- " ately." Accordingly they were introduc'd to the King, then at bed, and gone to reſt. They ſhew'd him the written orders, agreed on by the council at *Windſor*, and told him, " The " neceſſity of affairs requir'd that the prince " ſhou'd come immediately to *London*; and it " was

" was judg'd moſt conduceable to the ſafety of " his perſon, and the quiet of the city, that he " ſhou'd retire to ſome houſe out of town, par- " ticularly to *Ham*." The King appear'd much dejected, and ask'd, *If it muſt be done immediately?* They told him, *He might take his reſt firſt*; and added, *That he ſhou'd be attended by a guard, who ſhou'd ſecure his perſon, but give him no ſort of diſturbance.* Whereupon they withdrew; but were but juſt gone, when they were brought back by the earl of *Middleton*, and ask'd by the King, *If he might not as well return to* Rocheſter, *ſince the prince had before deſir'd that he ſhou'd continue there, rather than come to* London. They promis'd to ſend immediate word to the prince, who lay that night at *Sion*, within eight miles of *London*. It was viſible that this propoſal was in order to a ſecond eſcape, and ſo the prince readily conſented to it.

The King retires to Rocheſter.

So the next day, *December* 18. the King took a formal leave of the ambaſſador of *Spain*, and the lords there preſent, in ſuch an affecting manner, that many of them melted into tears, and then took barge, part of the way to *Rocheſter*, attended by the earls of *Ailesbury*, *Litchfield*, *Arran* and *Dunbarton*, ſix of his yeomen of the guard, and about a hundred of the *Dutch* guards. Theſe latter left him at full liberty, and paid him rather more reſpect than his own guards had lately done. Moſt of that body, as it happen'd, were *papiſts*; ſo that when the King went to *maſs*, they went with him, and join'd very reverently. And when they were ask'd, *How they cou'd ſerve in an expedition deſign'd to deſtroy their own religion?* One of them anſwer'd, *His ſoul was God's, but his ſword was the prince of* Orange's. The King is ſaid to have been ſo delighted with this anſwer, that he repeated it to all that came about him.

This

This removal, in effect, finiſh'd the *revolution*, which had proceeded with the univerſal applauſe of the nation; only theſe laſt ſteps began to raiſe an uneaſineſs and fermentation. It was talk'd, "That here was an unnatural thing, to awaken "the King out of his ſleep, in his own palace, "and then to order him to go out of it, when "he was ready to ſubmit to any thing." Some ſaid, "He was now a priſoner, and remember'd "the ſaying of his father, *That the priſons and "the graves of princes, lay not far from one ano-"ther:* That the *perſon* of the King was now "ſtruck at, as well as his *government*; and this "ſpecious undertaking wou'd now appear to "be a diſguis'd and deſign'd *uſurpation*." Theſe ſuggeſtions began to work on great numbers; and the poſting the *Dutch* guards, in the room of the natives, gave an open diſguſt to the *Engliſh* army. In ſhort, theſe proceedings, how neceſſary ſoever, rais'd up a ſort of a new party, and gave colour for many to ſay afterwards, *That the King was forc'd away, and driven out of his kingdom.*

Reflection upon it.

IV. And now the prince of *Orange*, having a clear ſtage, made his firſt appearance in *London*, on the ſame day that the King left *Whitehall*, and arriv'd at *St. James's* with a numerous retinue, in a dark and rainy afternoon, which prov'd much to the diſappointment of the multitude, who now turn'd all their pity for King *James* into joy for their deliverer. Soon after his ſettlement in the palace, all bodies about the town came to congratulate his highneſs with the higheſt joy, and the moſt exalted expreſſions. The biſhops came the next day after his arrival, only the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, tho' once deſigning it did not appear. The clergy of *London*, who had ſhown themſelves ſuch champions, came

The Prince arrives at St. James's

Many Compliments.

came the next day; and the city, and many other bodies came likewiſe, who entertain'd his highneſs with ſeveral eloquent ſpeeches. With the men of the law came old ſerjeant *Maynard*, then near ninety years of age, who notwithſtanding made a quick and lively compliment. The prince took notice of his age, and ſaid, *That he had out-liv'd all the men of the law:* He reply'd, *He had like to have out-liv'd the law itſelf, if his highneſs had not come over.* Some foreign ambaſſadors thought fit to compliment his highneſs, but that was in private; being unwilling to appear openly by reaſon of the mob. Wherefore great care was taken to ſuppreſs thoſe unruly creatures, who had too much taſted of the ſweets of pillage and plunder; and paſſes were granted to all foreigners, who were willing to ſecure themſelves by a retreat.

Diſputes about a Settlement.

After compliments were over, the ſettlement of the nation was the firſt thing to be conſider'd. The lawyers were generally very forwards, and of opinion, "That the prince ſhou'd declare "himſelf King after the example of *Henry* the "ſeventh; which they ſaid, wou'd put an end "to all diſputes, which otherwiſe might prove "very tedious and perplexing. And they urg'd, "That he might call a parliament, which wou'd "be a *legal aſſembly*, if ſummon'd by the King "*in fact*, tho' his *title* was not yet recogniz'd." But this was plainly againſt his *declaration*, by which the ſettlement of the nation was referr'd to a parliament: "Therefore ſuch a ſtep wou'd "make all that the prince had now done paſs "for an aſpiring ambition, only to raiſe himſelf; and wou'd diſguſt thoſe who hitherto "had been the beſt affected to his deſigns; and "make them leſs concern'd in the conteſt, if, "inſtead of ſtaying for the offers of the nation, "he ſhou'd aſſume the crown to himſelf.

The

The Prince ſeem'd fully determin'd by theſe reaſons, and on the 21ſt inſtant, he invited the lords ſpiritual and temporal, to the number of above threeſcore, who appear'd and aſſiſted him at *St. James's*, in a grand council. To whom his highneſs ſpoke thus, "*My Lords*, I have de- "ſir'd you to meet here to adviſe the beſt man- "ner how to purſue the ends of my *declaration* "in calling a *free parliament*, for the preſerva- "tion of the *proteſtant religion*, the reſtoring the "*rights* and *liberties* of the kingdom, and ſettling "the ſame, that they may not be in danger of "being again ſubverted." Upon ſpeaking of which, his highneſs withdrew. *The Prince attended by the Peers.*

After the reading the prince's *declaration*, the lords voted their particular thanks for his highneſs's expedition; and the better to uſe the moſt effectual means to obtain the ends of his *declaration*, and ſettle a form of government, they reſolv'd to aſſemble for the future in their ancient houſe at *Weſtminſter*. For which end they nominated five of the moſt eminent lawyers, ſerjeant *Maynard*, Mr. *Holt*, Mr. *Polexfen*, Mr. *Bradford*, and Mr. *Atkinſon*, to aſſiſt them in their high conſultations, and to explain the laws and conſtitutions of the realm, in the room of the judges, who were either abſent, or diſlik'd. And it was further propos'd, That the whole aſſembly ſhou'd ſign the *aſſociation*, which the nobility and gentry had already ſubſcrib'd at *Exeter*, and other places; to which propoſal all agreed, except the duke of *Somerſet*, the earls of *Pembroke*, and *Nottingham*, the lord *Wharton*, and all the biſhops, except him of *London*. The main objection of thoſe prelates was upon the account of the unchriſtian word *revenge*, which, being afterwards chang'd for that of *puniſhment*, they were better ſatisfy'd. *Their Proceedings.*

V. In

The King finally leaves the Nation.

V. In the mean time the King continu'd four or five days at *Rocheſter*, at full liberty, and under no conſtraint from the guards that attended him, as the prince had before order'd. All his *proteſtant* friends, who repair'd to him, preſs'd him to ſtay, and ſee the iſſue of things, and the effects of a parliament; aſſuring him, "That "there was a great turn in the minds of the "citizens, and many others; and that pity and "compaſſion for him had ſo far prevail'd, that "good terms might be got for him, and a rea-"ſonable agreement ſettled." He was for a while diſtracted between his own inclinations, and the importunity of friends; till a letter from his queen, warmly claiming his promiſe of following her, determin'd the matter. This letter was intercepted, and fell into the hands of the prince, who immediately ſent it to the king.

Upon which, on the 23d of *December*, between two and three in the morning, he a ſecond time withdrew himſelf with as much privacy as he did the firſt; only accompany'd with his natural ſon, the duke of *Berwick*, and two more; and getting ſecretly into a ſmall frigate, ready for him, he in a ſhort time landed in *France*, and immediately repaired to *St. Germains*.

He leaves a Paper at Rocheſter.

He left a handſome reward for the *Dutch* officers and ſoldiers that had attended him. He alſo left behind him a paper containing *his reaſons for withdrawing himſelf from* Rocheſter, "in "which he highly complain'd of the hard-"ſhips put upon him by the prince of *Orange* at "*White-hall*, and other places, which caus'd him "to withdraw: Notwitſtanding which, he "wou'd be within call, when the nation's eyes "ſhou'd be open'd, ſo as to receive him again. "And then he hop'd a *legal parliament* might "be

" be call'd, and *liberty of conſcience* and other ne-
" ceſſaries be ſettled.

This paper, as it made a great noiſe, was anatomiz'd by Dr. *Burnet* and others, who ſhew'd That the *facts* inſiſted on, as the *cauſes of his departure*, were either aggravated, or miſrepreſented. However there was a general obſervation, that was obvious to all; " That tho' the King gave " ſome reaſons for his ſecond *deſertion*, he gave " none at all for his firſt." As for his ſecond going off, he might make ſome popular pretences; but for the firſt, there appear'd no grounds for his fears, than what might ariſe from the proſpect of a parliament, and the conſciouſneſs of his former proceedings.

Thus was the famous *revolution* finiſh'd and compleated within a little above three months, after it had made its firſt publick appearance in the world; to the amazement of all concern'd, and unconcern'd ſpectators. *The Revolution finiſhed.*

BOOK.

BOOK

BOOK III.

The Hiſtory of the Eſtabliſhment, From the Vacancy of the Throne, to the Filling of it with the Prince and Princeſs of Orange.

CHAP. I.

From the Departure of King James, *to the Meeting of the Convention-Parliament.*

Containing about four Weeks.

I. WE are now entering upon a ſtrange period of time, which fill'd peoples heads with a thouſand projects, conjectures and imaginations; and this was an actual INTER-REGNUM, a thing altogether unknown to the *Engliſh* nation, and the eſtabliſh'd conſtitution. How ſtrange ſoever it was, and whatever were the *cauſes* of it, it was no leſs *actual* and *real:* Which demonſtrates, That the beſt and wiſeſt of human conſtitutions *An actual* Inter-regnum.

ſtitutions in government can never, in their own natures, be made abſolutely unalterable.

The Power of the Lords.

But tho' there was a real *inter-regnum*, yet it neither produc'd, nor was it ſucceeded by *anarchy*, or a total ceſſion of ſupreme authority, which ſtill continu'd and exiſted in the nation; and proved like a mechanical ſpring confin'd by a greater weight, which being once remov'd, diſcover'd its elaſtick power. For from the moment of the King's departure, his viſible power devolv'd, and one latent and unextinguiſhable appear'd in its place: And the lords *ſpiritual* and *temporal*, who in ancient times were the *ſtanding council* of the nation, eſpecially in all emergencies, immediately felt themſelves in a ſuperior capacity, and inveſted with an inherent right of ſaving the nation; more particularly by applying to the neareſt relations of the crown, and of ſummoning the remaining part of the legiſlature, to ſettle and eſtabliſh the broken repoſe of the kingdom. Leſs they cou'd not do with ſafety to the people, nor more, perhaps, with juſtice to the monarchy; both which requir'd the moſt regular and healing methods, that cou'd be adapted to ſuch an exigency.

In this great capacity, as ſoon as they heard of the King's departure, their lordſhips exerted themſelves and their authority; and immediately aſſembled themſelves in their houſe at *Weſtminſter*. After a long debate, chiefly relating to the prerogatives of an *Engliſh* King, they reſolv'd to begin with this home addreſs to the prince of *Orange*: "We the lords *ſpiriual* and "*temporal*, aſſembled in this conjuncture, do "deſire your highneſs to take upon you the "adminiſtration of publick affairs both civil and "military, and the diſpoſal of the publick re"venue, for the preſervation of our *religion*, "*rights*, *laws*, *liberties*, and *properties*, and of the

They apply to the Prince of Orange.

"*peace*

" *peace* of the nation; and that your highneſs " will take into your particular care the preſent " condition of *Ireland*, and endeavour by the " moſt ſpeedy and effectual means to prevent the " dangers threatning that kingdom. All which " we make our requeſts to your highneſs to un- " dertake and exerciſe, till the meeting of the " intended *convention*, the 22d day of *January* " next; in which we doubt not, ſuch proper " methods will be taken, as will conduce to the " *eſtabliſhment* of theſe things upon ſuch ſure " and legal foundations, that they may not be in " danger of being again ſubverted.

Their ſecond Addreſs to him.

Having made this firſt ſtep, their lordſhips proceeded to conſider of the moſt effectual way for ſummoning the ſaid *convention*, and the ſame day drew up their opinions in a ſecond addreſs to the prince, " Deſiring his highneſs to iſſue " out miſſive letters, ſubſcrib'd by himſelf, to " the lords *ſpiritual* and *temporal*, being *prote-* " *ſtants*, and to the ſeveral *counties*, *univerſities*, " *cities*, *boroughs*, and *cinque-ports* of *England* " and *Wales*; containing directions for the chu- " ſing, in all ſuch places, within ten days after " the receipt of the ſaid *letters*, ſuch a number " of perſons to *repreſent* them, as are of right to " be ſent to *parliament*; and to give ſuch notice " as the perſons choſen may meet on the 22d " day of *January*." Theſe two addreſſes, on the 25th of *December*, were ſubſcribed by ninety lords then preſent in the houſe.

Their Order againſt Papiſts.

Having proceeded thus far, to ſhew their authority, as well as ſettle the peace of the city, they next made an " Order for all *papiſts* to de- " part the city of *London*, and ten miles from " the ſame, within five days, and not to re- " move from their habitation above five miles; " excepting ſuch as were actually in the Queen " Doweger's ſervice, the domeſticks of foreign

" miniſters, foreign merchants and factors, re-
" ſiding only upon the account of trade, and all
" houſekeepers in *London*, and ten miles from the
" ſame, who had been traders for three years laſt
" paſt. Provided they gave in their names and
" places of abode, in eight days, to the lord
" mayor in writing; and alſo all *popiſh* officers
" that ſhall give bail in ſix days, to appear the
" firſt day of the term, and to be on their good
" behaviour in the mean time; and ſuch officers
" as ſhou'd neglect, to be taken into cuſtody."
Thus far the lords proceeded and acted by themſelves, agreeable to their antient right and authority; and in all their debates, the acute marquis of *Hallifax* was made chair-man.

The Proceedings of the Prince.

From this time the prince of *Orange* proceeded more like a King, and with great diligence and activity, towards finiſhing the great work he had undertaken. His highneſs never ſeem'd to doubt of the inclinations of a conſiderable party of the peers; therefore the regular concurrence of the commons of *England*, appear'd the moſt important point. But how to aſſemble them after a *legal manner*, was no ſmall difficulty: There was no King in the nation, nor any particular *ſtyle* or *form* of government; the *writs* were deſtroy'd, and the great ſeal thrown away and loſt. After a long conſultation with his council about this knotty affair, a late precedent was produc'd, which ſeem'd to agree with the preſent exigency. It was that of general *Monk*, who in the latter end of 1659, in oppoſition to the *rump* parliament, who pretended to continue ſitting, with the nobility and gentry, iſſu'd forth their ſummons in the names of the *keepers of the liberties of* England, for a *convention*, or *parliament*, to meet in *April* 1660. And tho' this was done by *unqualify'd perſons*, and without the *formal conſent* of the people, yet

yet after the King's reſtoration, he was ſo well ſatisfy'd with the reaſonableneſs of their proceedings, That he paſs'd an act, "That the "lords and commons then ſitting were the *two* "*houſes of parliament*, notwithſtanding the want "of the King's *writs*, or any other defect whatſoever." From whence his highneſs's council inferr'd, "That if the *neceſſity of affairs* was a "forceable argument in 1659, it was certainly "of greater force in the preſent conjuncture.

He ſummons the Commons, &c.

But becauſe the commons of *England* had never inſiſted upon the ſame right and privilege to appear as the peers of the realm, the prince thought fit to conſult further, and to publiſh this following order; "Whereas the *neceſſity of* "*affairs* does require ſpeedy advice; we do de"ſire all ſuch perſons as have ſerv'd as *knights*, "*citizens* or *burgeſſes* in any of the *parliaments* "that were held during the reign of the late "King *Charles* the ſecond, to meet us at *St.* "*James's*, upon the 26th of this inſtant, by "ten in the morning. And we do likewiſe de"ſire, that the *lord mayor*, and court of *alder*"*men* of the city of *London* wou'd be preſent "at the ſame time; and that the *common council* "wou'd appoint fifty of their number to be "there likewiſe.

According to theſe ſummons, many members of the parliaments in King *Charles's* reign, to the number of about a hundred and ſixty; together with the aldermen and deputies of the common-council of the city of *London*, aſſembled at *St. James's*, on the appointed day; where the prince made this ſhort ſpeech to them,

His Speech to them.

"You, *Gentlemen, that have been members of the* "*late parliaments*, I have deſir'd you to meet me "here, to adviſe the beſt manner how to purſue "the ends of my *declaration*, in calling a *free* "*parliament*, for the preſervation of the *proteſtant*

" *ſtant religion*, and the reſtoring the *rights* and " *liberties* of the kingdom, and ſettling the ſame, " that they may not be in danger of being again " ſubverted. And you, *the aldermen and mem-* " *bers of the common-council of the city of* Lon- " don, I deſire the ſame of you. And in re- " gard your numbers are like to be great, you " may, if you think fit, divide yourſelves, and " and ſit in ſeparate places." He gave them a copy of his ſpeech, and deſir'd they wou'd take it into immediate conſideration.

They form themſelves into a Houſe.

They all by agreement repair'd to the commons houſe in *Weſtminſter*; where having choſen *Henry Poole* eſquire for their chair-man, the firſt queſtion they debated, was, *What authority they had to aſſemble?* Upon which it was ſoon determin'd, *That the requeſt of the prince of* Orange *was a ſufficient warrant.*' The next queſtion was, *How his highneſs cou'd take upon him the publick adminiſtration, without a diſtinguiſhing* name, *or* title? Which objection, being ſtarted by Sir *Robert Southwell*, was briskly anſwer'd by old *Maynard*, *That the aſſembly would loſe a great deal of time, if they waited till Sir* Robert *could conceive how that was poſſible.* A temporary offer of the government being made to his highneſs, one propos'd that it ſhou'd be, not for a month only, but for a whole year; to whom it was anſwer'd, *That the* convention *ought only to conſider of that.* Others mov'd that the *aſſociation* that had been ſign'd by the lords, might likewiſe be ſubſcrib'd by this aſſembly; but it was carry'd, That it ſhould be left upon the table, and every one be at liberty to ſign it or not. In concluſion they drew up an addreſs almoſt in the ſame words with that lately preſented by the lords; and added a ſecond to the ſame effect with theirs, relating to the manner of electing the *convention*.

On

On the 28th of this month, the prince gave the ſame anſwer to the addreſſes of the lords and commoners, tho' at different hours, *viz. I have conſider'd of your advice; and, as far as I am able, I will endeavour to ſecure the peace of the nation, until the meeting of the* convention; *for the election whereof I will forthwith iſſue* letters, *according to your deſire. I will alſo take care to apply the* publick revenue *to the moſt proper uſes that the preſent affairs require; and likewiſe endeavour to put* Ireland *into ſuch a condition, as that the* proteſtant *religion, and* Engliſh *intereſt may be maintain'd in that kingdom. And I further aſſure you, That as I came hither for the preſervation of the* proteſtant *religion, and the* laws *and* liberties *of theſe kingdoms; ſo I will always be ready to expoſe myſelf to any hazard, for the* defence *of the ſame.* *The Prince anſwers their Addreſſes.*

At this time ſome diſturbances had like to have happen'd, by means of the old *French* ambaſſador *Barillon*, who now appear'd extraordinary active and buſy in promoting diviſions among the peers: upon which his highneſs ſent an expreſs order to that miniſter to leave the kingdom in twenty four hours. He demanded a longer time; but being refus'd, he unwillingly parted from *London*, where he had reſided for many years, in effect to meet with diſgrace in his own country. *The* French *Ambaſſador ſent away.*

On the 30th inſtant, being *Sunday*, his highneſs ſolemnly receiv'd the holy ſacrament in *St. James*'s chapel, from the hands of the biſhop of *London*, and heard the whole ſervice perform'd by Dr. *Burnet*, and a remarkable ſermon preach'd by Dr. *Lloyd*, biſhop of *St. Aſaph:* Which open profeſſing himſelf a true member of the church of *England*, gain'd him both the praiſes and affections of many wavering people. *The Prince for the Church of* England.

Thus qualify'd, the next day, and the laſt in the year, his highneſs, before he iſſu'd out his *writs* for the *convention*, began with the firſt act *His firſt Act of Adminiſtration.*

of his adminiſtration of publick affairs; which was a *declaration* for "Authorizing all ſheriffs, "juſtices of the peace, and other officers and "miniſters, not being *papiſts*, that were in ſuch "offices, on the firſt day of *December* laſt, to "act in their reſpective places, till the meeting "of the intended *convention*.

He viſits the Queen Dowager.

On the ſame evening he was pleas'd to make a publick viſit to the Queen Dowager; and among other queſtions, in a pleaſant air, he ask'd her majeſty, *How ſhe paſs'd away her time*, and, *Whether ſhe play'd at* Baſſet? Upon which the Queen took this opportunity, with a neat turn, to tell him of his confining the earl of *Feverſham*, anſwering his highneſs, *That ſhe had not play'd at that game ſince the abſence of her chamberlain, who us'd to keep the bank.* The prince immediately took the hint, and generouſly told her, *He would by no means interrupt her majeſty's diverſions*; and the next day ſet the earl at liberty.

JANUARY $168\frac{8}{9}$.

II. For the greateſt part of this month the peoples minds were poſſeſs'd and agitated with variety of projects and contrivances, opinions and imaginations, and chiefly with expectations of the proceedings of the enſuing *convention*. For the ſummoning of which, the prince enter'd upon the ſecond *act* of his adminiſtration, and diſpatch'd circular letters and inſtructions, "for the better "preventing diſorders that might happen in any "place of election. Therefore he order'd all "regiments, troops, and companies to march "out of the quarters where ſuch elections ſhou'd "be made, the ſeveral garriſons only excepted." In the next place he bent his thoughts upon modelling the *Engliſh army*, and accordingly he made

The Prince regulates the Engliſh *Forces.*

ſuch

ſuch removals and reforms as appear'd moſt for the publick good, and the preſent ſtate of affairs. And particularly being inform'd, That divers ſoldiers, contrary to his intentions and the laws of the land, were quarter'd in private houſes, he iſſu'd out a *declaration*, ordering "That none of "the forces ſhou'd preſume to quarter in any "private houſe, without the voluntary conſent "of the owner.

His Care for Scotland,

And as the prince ſhew'd himſelf active and vigilant with reſpect to the affairs of *England*, ſo he ſhew'd a ſuitable regard to thoſe of *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. On the 7th of this month, he aſſembled all the *Scotch* peers and gentlemen that were about the town, and by a proper application to them, he obtain'd from them an addreſs, begging him to take upon him the full adminiſtration of their government, as he had done in *England*. This addreſs was ſign'd by about thirty lords and eighty gentlemen, and made way for an eaſy ſecurity and acceſſion in that kingdom.

And Ireland.

The ſettlement of *Ireland* was not ſo eaſy a work, tho' very promiſing at firſt, and hopeful beyond expectation. But the treachery of ſome, and the negligence of others gave a terrible turn, and created great miſchiefs there; the account of which will not come within the compaſs of this undertaking.

Money lent him by the City.

In the midſt of theſe cares, the prince began to be ſenſible of the want of a neceſſary ſubſiſtance for the preſent occaſions; and therefore he gave notice by letter to the *court of aldermen and common council* of the city of *London*, *That there was a great want of an immediate ſupply of money, beyond what the preſent condition of the revenue cou'd furniſh, for the charge of the navy, paying off the army, and ſending a ſpeedy relief for the* proteſtant *intereſt in* Ireland. Then propoſing, *That for the*

anſwering of theſe great ends, if ſuch a ſum of money ſhou'd be advanc'd by the city, by way of loan, as they cou'd conveniently ſpare, it ſhou'd be ſecur'd, and repaid with full intereſt at the end of ſix months. Upon which an unanimous vote paſs'd, *That they wou'd ſupply his highneſs with two hundred thouſand pounds*; which ſum being then demanded, was rais'd with great chearfulneſs in four days time.

The daily ſervice and attendance about the prince was very great; but among the numbers that waited upon his highneſs, the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had hitherto declin'd that particular, tho' he had ſhewn himſelf as ready as any in joining with, and ſubſcribing the lords *invitation* at *Guild-Hall*. This was by many aſcrib'd to his indiſpoſition of body; but by others, who ſeem'd to judge more rightly of the matter, to the ſame reaſon which kept the biſhops from ſigning the *aſſociation*.

The Archbiſhop, &c. ſigns the Aſſociation.

However, his grace did not long after ſend a compliment to the prince, and with ſeven or eight biſhops more ſubſcrib'd the ſaid *aſſociation*. They firſt ſoften'd ſome words in it, and particularly chang'd that of *revenge* into that of *puniſhment*, as was formerly hinted; but kept intirely to the intent of the inſtrument, as it was firſt projected.

Elections for the Convention.

III. While the prince was daily employ'd in the affairs of ſtate, the people were buſy in the elections of the members for the *convention*, which went forwards with the greateſt freedom and liberty that cou'd be imagin'd in ſuch an uncommon ſeaſon. Every man gave his vote for whom he pleas'd, without any appearing ſolicitation from the prince, or any of his dependents; to which calm, the removal of the ſoldiers from all places of election did not a little contribute. But what added to it, was, That there

there had been *writs* for a parliament twice before this, in a few months; ſo that almoſt every place had ſome time before fix'd their members: Inſomuch that the difference was not conſiderable between the members that were, and thoſe that wou'd have been choſen, if King *James* had ſuffer'd the firſt or ſecond parliament he call'd to have met. And this gives us the trueſt idea of the temper and diſpoſition of the nation at this juncture, and what in probability wou'd have been the event, if either of theſe parliaments had ſat.

Diviſions about ſettling the Government.

But as the fervour of the nation in time began to abate, and the fears of the people to diminiſh; ſo diviſions and difficulties were expected to be rais'd. And as the ſitting of the *convention* drew near, and the majority of the members arriv'd at *London*, it was eaſy to foreſee, That there wou'd be more than one party in the lower houſe.

It is true, the generality, if not all of them agreed in the "Neceſſity of re-eſtabliſhing the "fundamentals of the government, and of bringing back the *Engliſh* conſtitution to its perfect and pureſt original, tho' hard to know or effect, as the beſt means to ſecure the nation againſt *popery*, *ſlavery*, and *oppreſſion*." But yet they did not a little differ in the *means* and *methods* of compaſſing theſe great ends. Some, who had firmly eſpous'd the doctrine of *non-reſiſtance*, formerly recited, were for calling back King *James*, but to put him under ſuch *conditions* and *limitations*, as he ſhou'd not be able to hurt either church or ſtate. But it was objected againſt them, That this was inconſiſtent with their principles; for putting of *conditions* upon a prince, was in effect the ſame with *reſiſtance*; ſo that theſe perſons, for want of ſupport, fell of themſelves, and dropt into another party.

And

And again, tho' moſt concurr'd to lodge the government in the hands of the prince of *Orange*, yet ſtill the opinions were various as to the *title* they ſhou'd confer upon him: Some were for making him *regent*, or *protector*, with particular *limitations*; and others *king*, according to the old conſtitution. The firſt ſeem'd to be ſtrengthen'd by the numerous party of the republicans; who hop'd by that means to make a great ſtep towards introducing a common-wealth. Then as to thoſe who were for a *King*, they appear'd divided into two parties; ſome maintaining that the princeſs of *Orange* being the next heir, ſhe ought therefore to be crown'd, and the prince to manage the affairs as King only by his wife's title; and others, who appear'd more in number, aſſerting that the prince ought to be King ſingly.

This laſt was warmly urg'd and maintain'd, and the arguments that were publiſh'd, much applauded, in this conjuncture. They are too long to be here fully ſpecify'd, and of too much effect, to be omitted. It was urg'd, 'That the 'ſupreme power perſonal of *England* was in the 'King, lords, and commons, the three eſſen- 'tial parts of the *Engliſh* conſtitution. Now 'that *ſupreme power* by the failure of two eſ- 'ſential parts of it, *viz.* of the *King*, by his u- 'ſurpations, and then his perſonal withdrawing 'himſelf; and of the *houſe of commons*, which, 'according to the conſtitution, cou'd not be 'call'd, ſince the King was gone, and the free- 'dom of elections deſtroy'd by his encroach- 'ments. That the *ſupreme power real* ſtill re- 'main'd in the *community*, who might act by 'their *original power*. That tho' every parti- 'cular perſon was, notwithſtanding ſuch *diſſo- 'lution*, ſubject to the laws made by the *ſu- 'preme power perſonal*; yet the power of the

Arguments for making the Prince of Orange *King.*

'*community*

'*community* was not bound by them, but was 'paramount to all laws made by the ſaid power; 'and had an inherent right to take ſuch mea'ſures for ſettling the government, as ſhou'd be 'thought moſt effectual for the laſting ſecurity 'of the nation; ſince it was the community of '*England*, which gave being to both King and 'parliament, and all the parts of the conſtitu'tion; none of which cou'd otherwiſe have any 'power, unleſs it ſhou'd come by immediate re'velation.

They further urg'd, 'That the acts made 'and executed by the *ſupream power perſonal* had 'ſo modell'd the parts and perſons of the *com'munity*, that the original conſtitution was the 'beſt, and moſt eligible. That the *royal family* 'afforded a perſon that both heaven and earth 'had pointed out for *King*. That there were 'lords, whoſe *nobility* was not affected by this 'diſſolution of the government, and were the 'ſubject matter of a *houſe of peers*; and that 'there were places, which by *cuſtom*, or *char'ter*, had a continu'd right to chuſe repreſenta'tives of the *commons*. That in other methods 'there were inextricable difficulties; for there 'was no demiſe in the King, either *civil* or *na'tural*, and therefore there was no *deſcent*; and 'the *community* had only a right to take advan'tage of the King's *forfeiture* and *deſertion*. That 'whatever other power might be imagin'd in 'the two houſes, as *houſes of parliament*, it cou'd 'juſtify it ſelf to any who underſtood the bot'tom of the *Engliſh* conſtitution. By this me'thod all *popiſh* ſucceſſors might be excluded, 'and the government ſecur'd, in caſe all the '*proteſtants* of the family dy'd without iſſue; 'and this by the very conſtitution of *England*.'

In ſum, it wou'd be moſt adviſeable, 'not on- *The manner of the Settlement*
'ly for the ſecurity of the nation, but for the
'intereſt

'intereſt of both their royal higneſſes, to limit 'the crown as follows; To the prince of *O*-'range during his life, (yet with all poſſible 'HONOUR and RESPECT to the prin-'ceſs) remainder, to the princeſs of *Orange*, and 'the heirs of her body; remainder, to the prin-'ceſs of *Denmark*, and the heirs of her body; 'remainder, to the heirs of the body of the 'prince of *Orange*; remainder, as an act of par-'liament ſhou'd appoint.

In this particular method they believ'd they found theſe conveniences among others, namely, 'That husband and wife, being but one perſon 'in law, the honour of the prince wou'd be 'that of her royal highneſs: That it put the '*kingly* power into the beſt hand in the world; 'That it aſſerted the power of the *community*; 'That it wou'd be ſome acknowledgment to 'the prince for what he had done for the na-'tion.' Concluding, as what was worthy of obſervation, 'That before the *Theocracy* of the '*Jews* ceas'd, the manner of the divine deſig-'nation of their *Judges*, was by God's giving 'ſome deliverance by the hand of the perſon to 'whoſe government they were to ſubmit; That 'ſince that *Theocracy* ceas'd, there was no in-'ſtance of a deſignation of any perſon to any 'government, more viſibly divine and miracu-'lous, than that which they now admired; 'That if the *voice of the people be the voice of* '*God*, that voice never ſpoke plainer; That if 'a nation of various opinions, intereſts and fa-'ctions, from a turbulent and fluctuating ſtate, 'ſunk into a ſerene and quiet calm, and mens 'minds were wonderfully united on a ſudden, 'it ſhew'd from whence they were influenc'd. 'In a word, that if the hand of God was to 'be ſeen in human affairs, and his voice to be 'heard upon earth, they cou'd no where, ſince

'the

'the ceaſing of miracles, find out a clearer and 'more remarkable inſtance, than was to be 'found in the preſent *revolution.*

Beſides theſe foremention'd reaſons, they further alledg'd, 'That the placing of the prince 'of *Orange* ſingly on the throne, wou'd be a 'caution to ſucceeding Kings, of the fatal 'conſequence of a general derogation, when 'they found by this inſtance their regal power 'to be in danger, not only to themſelves, but 'likewiſe to their families. That the princeſs 'of *Orange* wou'd ſhare all the glory of the 'crown, without the trouble of it, and wou'd 'be free from all *popiſh* reflections, *That ſhe ſate 'in her father's throne while he liv'd*; and that 'there was no room for the princeſs of *Den-'mark* to think her ſelf neglected, the exchange 'being attended with many advantages, by the 'poſtponing of the prince of *Wales.* *Advantages from it.*

'That if the prince of *Orange* was not King 'in his own right, his intereſt wou'd not be 'intirely that of the nation; for tho' his bra-'very was an aſſurance of his ſincerity to the '*Engliſh*, yet if there remain'd any probability 'of his returning to *Holland*, as upon the death 'of the Queen (if ſhe only was ſovereign) his 'intereſt muſt be divided. That it was dange-'rous to the government, to veſt the exerciſe 'of the ſoveraignty in both; for they might 'differ in ſentiments of things. That it was 'repugnant to grant the crown to both, and 'fix the adminiſtration in one, ſince that was 'an incident inſeparable from the ſovereignty." Laſtly they alledg'd, 'That it ſupported this 'uſeful maxim, That a *neighbouring nation* may 'take arms, to reſcue a people oppreſs'd by *ty-'ranny*; and that *foreign princes* wou'd look to 'themſelves, when they heard, by our nation's '*example* of gratitude, *That they are no longer 'ſafe, than while juſt to their ſubjects.* This

This project, in all appearance, ſeem'd moſt likely to take; but it being ſo derogatory to the intereſt of her royal highneſs the princeſs of *Denmark*, it was fear'd that ſhe, who had a conſiderable party in both houſes, wou'd hardly conſent to it. But we are well aſſur'd that this obſtacle was ſoon removed, by her own conſideration of the publick good, and the mediation of friends. Tho' we are aſſur'd of the truth of this from the beſt hands, yet we want that full and publick proof of it, that ſo high an affair ſeems to require. However upon her account, as well as other inducements, the generality of adviſers reſolv'd, That the buſineſs of the prince of *Wales* ſhou'd be left undecided, and not to be ſo much as mention'd or remember'd in either houſe.

The Princeſs Anne *complies.*

The Princeſs of Orange *ſent for.*

In the mean time, while mens minds were fill'd with theſe ſchemes and contrivances, and while it remain'd doubtful what reſolutions the *convention* wou'd take for the SETTLEMENT of the government, the prince of *Orange*, with the opinion of the earl of *Danby*, thought it moſt expedient to ſend over for his royal conſort. Accordingly he gave immediate orders to admiral *Herbert*, to attend her in her paſſage, with a ſquadron of *Dutch* men of war, and ſome *Engliſh* yatches.

And perhaps the prince never acted more wiſely, than in ſending for one who was ſo likely to bring peace and unanimity to the kingdom; that admirable lady, who was infinitely belov'd, and moſt highly eſteem'd both by the *Dutch* and the *Engliſh* nation.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

From the Meeting of the Convention, to the Compleating of the Eſtabliſhment, by the Prince and Princeſs of Orange.

Containing twenty-two Days.

I. IT was upon the appointed time, the long'd for 22d day of *January*, that the grand *convention* met; not only with the expectations of the *Britiſh* dominions, but of all the neighbouring kingdoms and nations. Being divided into two houſes, as uſually in parliament, (of whoſe rules they were ſtrictly obſervant) they immediately proceeded to the choice of their ſpeakers. In the houſe of peers, the marquiſs of *Hallifax* carry'd it againſt the earl of *Danby*; and in the lower houſe, Mr. *Powle* was unanimouſly choſen; tho' it was expected that Sir *Edward Seymour*, who had ſo early join'd the prince at *Exeter*, wou'd have ſtood in competition with him. Both houſes had their clerks and ſeveral officers, as in a regular parliament. The chairs being fill'd, the following letter from the prince of *Orange* was ſolemnly read in both houſes. *The Meeting of the Convention.*

My lords and gentlemen, *I have endeavour'd, to the utmoſt of my power, to perform what was deſir'd from me in order to the publick peace and ſafety; and I do not know that any thing hath been omitted which might tend to the preſervation of them, ſince the adminiſtration of affairs was put into my hands. It now lieth upon you to lay the foundation of a firm ſecurity for your* religion, *your* laws, *and your* liberties. *The Prince his Letter to both Houſes.*

I do

I do not doubt, but that by ſuch a full *and* free repreſentative *of the nation, as is now met, the ends of my* declaration *will be attain'd: And ſince it hath pleas'd God, hitherto to bleſs my good intentions with ſo great ſucceſs, I truſt in him, that he will compleat his own work, by ſending a ſpirit of peace and union to influence your counſels, that no interruption may be given to a happy and laſting ſettlement.*

The dangerous condition of the proteſtants *in* Ireland, *requiring a large and ſpeedy ſuccour, and the preſent ſtate of things abroad, oblige me to tell you, that next to the danger of unreaſonable diviſions among our ſelves, nothing can be ſo fatal as too great a delay in your conſultations. The* ſtates, *by whom I have been enabl'd to reſcue this nation, may ſuddenly feel the ill effects of it, both by being too long deprived of the ſervice of their troops, which are now here, and of your early aſſiſtance againſt a powerful enemy, who hath declared againſt them. And as* England *is by treaty already engag'd to help them upon ſuch exigencies, ſo I am confident, that their chearful concurrence to preſerve this kingdom with ſo much hazard to themſelves, will meet with all the returns of friendſhip and aſſiſtance, which may be expected from you, as* proteſtants *and* Engliſhmen, *whenever their condition ſhall require it.*

Proceedings of the Lords.

The houſe of lords proceeded with great order, calmneſs and caution, and before they enter'd upon buſineſs, appointed ſpecial aſſiſtants to adviſe them in matters of law, *viz.* the late lord chief baron *Montague*, Sir *Robert Atkins*, Sir *William Dolben*, Sir *Creſwell Levins*, Sir *John Holt*, Sir *Edward Nevile*, Mr. *Whitlock*, Mr. *Bradbury* and Mr. *Petit*. After which they immediately made an order for a thankſgiving to almighty God, *For having made the prince of* Orange *the glorious inſtrument of the great DELIVERANCE of this kingdom from* popery, *and* arbitrary power. And then they proceeded

to

to a particular addreſs in anſwer to his highneſs's letter juſt then read.

The ſame letter being read in the houſe of commons, the ſpeaker repreſented to that aſſembly; *And the Commons.* 'The dangerous ſtate of the nation, and the fatal conſequences of *anarchy*; the deplorable ſtate of the *proteſtants* in *Ireland*, and how much *England* muſt be affected by the loſs of that kingdom: And more particularly the growth of the exorbitant power of *France*, and the vaſt deſigns of that turbulent and aſpiring monarch, not only the open perſecuter of the *proteſtant* religion, but likewiſe the ſworn enemy of the *Engliſh* nation.'——This ſpeech was receiv'd with univerſal applauſe, and was ſeconded by ſeveral members; who, at that time, were under a deep ſenſe of their paſt dangers, and preſent deliverance. And having receiv'd a meſſage from the lords for a *publick thankſgiving*, they unanimouſly join'd with their lordſhips in the following addreſs to his highneſs, which was preſented to him that very day in a full body.

'We, the *lords ſpiritual* and *temporal*, and *commons* aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, being highly ſenſible of the great *deliverance* of this kingdom, from *popery* and *arbitrary power*; and that our preſervation is, next under God, owing to your highneſs, do return our moſt humble thanks and acknowledgments to your highneſs, as the *glorious inſtrument of ſo great a bleſſing*. We do further acknowledge the great care in the *adminiſtration* of the publick affairs of the kingdom, to this time. And we do moſt humbly beſeech your highneſs, That you will take upon you the *adminiſtration* of publick affairs, both *civil* and *military*, and the diſpoſal of the *publick revenue*, for the preſervation of our *religion*, *rights*, *laws*, *liberties* and *properties*, and of the peace of the nation. *The Addreſs of both Houſes to the Prince.*

'And that your highneſs will take into your 'particular care the preſent ſtate of *Ireland*, and 'endeavour by the moſt ſpeedy and effectual 'means to prevent the dangers that threaten that 'kingdom. All which we make our requeſt to 'your highneſs to undertake and execute, till 'farther application ſhall be made by us; which 'ſhall be expedited with all convenient ſpeed: 'And we ſhall alſo uſe our utmoſt endeavours to 'give diſpatch to the matters recommended to 'us by your highneſs's letter.

The prince of *Orange* thought it convenient to take a day's time to return an anſwer to this acceptable addreſs; and on the 23d of this month, he ſent it to both houſes in theſe words, My lords and gentlemen, *I am glad that what I have done has pleas'd you; and ſince you deſire me to continue the* adminiſtration of affairs, *I am willing to accept it. I muſt recommend to you the conſideration of* affairs *abroad, which makes it fit for you to expedite your buſineſs; not only for making a* ſettlement *at home, upon a good foundation, but for the ſafety of all* Europe.

His Anſwer.

It was then very pleaſing to obſerve the diſpatch and unanimity between the two houſes, and how both agreed with the ſenſe and deſires of the nation; ſo that the mighty work went on without any obſtruction, till it came to the finiſhing part, as will be ſoon remember'd.

The ſenſe of the lords, both ſpiritual and temporal, is apparent from the title of their *order for a thankſgiving*, the perſons appointed to compoſe the prayers, and the full expreſſions contain'd in them, which ought not to be totally omitted. The perſons concern'd in the office were eleven biſhops, *Compton*, *Sprat*, *Lloyd*, *Turner*, *Lake*, *Frampton*, *Ken*, *White*, *Barlow*, *Trelawny*, and *Loid*; ſix of whom were afterwards non-jurors. One of the prayers ſays, *We give glory to thy holy*

Particular Prayers appointed.

ly name for our deliverance *from the intolerable yoke of the* romiſh *church.* A ſecond ſays, *It was becauſe thy compaſſions fail not, that our holy* reform'd religion *was not overwhelm'd with* popiſh ſuperſtition *and* idolatry, *that our* laws *and* liberties *are reſcu'd from the bands of violence and oppreſſion.——Bleſſed be thy name who has rais'd up for us a mighty* deliverer, *by whom thou haſt wrought this great ſalvation.* A fourth prayer adds, *Go on to perfect, O gracious God, the* work *that thou haſt begun amongſt us: Bleſs and proſper the hands by which thou haſt convey'd this mercy to us.* Over and above theſe prayers, a few days after, the ſame prelates, by a ſecond order of the houſe, compos'd a particular prayer, to be ſaid daily, for his highneſs the prince of *Orange*, which begins thus, *Almighty God, who in times of trouble and danger, doſt raiſe up* deliverers *of thy people; —we beſeech thee to bleſs his highneſs the prince of* Orange, *whom thou haſt ſent to be the defender of our* laws *and* religion. *Protect his perſon, ſtrengthen his hands,* &c. *One for the Prince.*

All this time the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* abſented himſelf, and never came once to the houſe, either to vote or proteſt, which was thought diſagreeable to his high ſtation: And many wonder'd that a man of ſuch virtues and abilities, who had acted ſo brave a part in the time of the greateſt danger, ſhould now make ſo little a figure, when that danger was ſufficiently remov'd. *The Archbiſhop abſent.*

In the mean time the unfortunate King *James*, foreſeeing what advantages the nation was like to take of his retirement, thought it proper to apply by letter, to *the lords and others of the privy council*, uſing the ſame kind of vindication of himſelf as he had done when he left *Rocheſter*, and renewing his former promiſes, if he might have juſtice done him. *K. James's Letters.*

But this letter, tho' printed and ſufficiently diſpers'd, having no avow'd anſwer made to it, he wrote another letter to the *lords and commons, then ſitting in convention*; uſing again much the ſame arguments and promiſes as before; and offering a general act of oblivion, upon the *word of a King*. But the credit of that ſort of promiſe was reduc'd to ſo low an ebb, that when the letter was ſent by the lord *Preſton* to the houſe of commons, upon hearing it came from King *James*, they wou'd not ſo much as open it. This being likewiſe ſent by the ſame lord to the houſe of peers, ſome of that aſſembly wou'd have it read, but others warmly refus'd it; however they thought fit to ſend for the lord *Preſton*, who own'd that the letter was brought him by a *Scotchman*. Upon which he was order'd to attend the houſe with the bearer, within three days time.

They are rejected.

Of the conſequence of which, we have this ſhort account in a lord's manuſcript, That when Mr. *Hays* the *Scotchman* appear'd in the houſe, and was ask'd Where he had the letter which he brought to my lord *Preſton*; he anſwer'd, 'That 'when he left *Paris*, on the *Monday* before, the 'King commanded him to call at *St. Germains* 'on my lord *Melfort* for a packet of letters to 'the lord *Preſton*; which he did, and had de'liver'd them according to his orders; and that 'was all the information he cou'd give to that 'honourable houſe.' Again the reading of the letter was propos'd, but ſoon rejected. The manuſcript adds, And indeed a great coldneſs appear'd even in thoſe who were moſt zealous in the King's cauſe, when they found that his majeſty ſtill made uſe of my lord *Melfort*, by whom the letters were counterſign'd.

After

After the prince had return'd his anſwer to the addreſs of both houſes, the commons deferr'd their ſitting again 'till the 28th inſtant, only to give time to the reſt of their members to come up to town. On which day, the houſe being full, they poceeded to a ſolemn conſideration of the ſtate and condition of the nation; the moſt momentous debate that cou'd well be imagin'd. Thereupon they reſolv'd themſelves into a *committee* of the whole houſe, and put Mr. *Hambden* into the chair; in order to ſettle a cauſe that requir'd no little courage and underſtanding to manage. *Proceedings of the Commons.*

The firſt perſon that ſtood up was Mr. *Dolben*, ſon to the late archbiſhop of *York*, who made a long and free ſpeech to prove, 'That 'King *James* his *deſerting* the kingdom, and 'his not appointing any perſon to *adminiſter* the 'government in his abſence, amounted in rea'ſon and judgment of law to a *demiſe* of that 'prince;' and he concluded with a motion to the ſame effect. This home motion was ſeconded by Sir *Richard Temple*, and was ſupported by Sir *Robert Sawyer*. After him, Sir *Robert Howard* entertain'd the commitee with a long harangue; and he was the firſt who ventur'd to aſſert the *vacancy of the throne*, and the *breach of the original contract*, by a continu'd ſeries of illegal acts, (many of which he enumerated and diſplay'd) throughout the whole courſe of King *James*'s reign. His allegations were maintain'd by Mr. *Garraway*, Sir *Thomas Lee*, Mr. *Sacheverell*, Mr. *Pollexfen*, Sir *George Treby*, and Mr. *Somers*. *Their Debates.*

Several of them objected againſt Mr. *Dolben*'s motion of a *demiſe*, 'as not taking in King 'James's male-adminiſtration; and becauſe a *de*'miſe infers a *deſcent* of the crown to the 'next in hereditary ſucceſſion; whereas in

'this caſe the throne was not *deſcended*, but as 'they inſiſted *vacant*.' Mr. *Finch*, in an eloquent ſpeech, contradicted the doctrine of the *vacancy*: 'He extoll'd the courage, conduct and 'magnanimity of the prince of *Orange*, who was 'compar'd to thoſe ancient heroes that were 'contented with the glory of *freeing nations*, and '*deſtroying tyrants*, without any particular de-'ſign upon their crowns.' He further alledg'd, 'That the moſt adviſable courſe would be, to 'come to ſuch a reſolution as ſhou'd meet with 'a moſt *general concurrence*; and that, in his opi-'nion, the eſtabliſhing a *regency*, during the life 'of King *James*, wou'd give a much greater ſa-'tisfaction to the kingdom, than the declaring 'the *throne to be vacant*.' Sir *Chriſtopher Muſgrave* inſiſted, 'That to vote the *throne to be va-'cant*, wou'd be actually to *depoſe* the King; 'and deſir'd to know from the gentlemen of the 'long robe, *Whether that could be legally done?*' and Sir *Edward Seymour* ſpoke with great warmth to the ſame effect.

Towards the cloſe of this grand debate, the lord *Fanſhaw* mov'd That it might be adjourned to another day, 'in regard of its very great 'importance, and of the miſchief that might be 'occaſion'd by taking too haſty ſteps in a matter 'of ſo much weight.' But this wou'd not be heard; and ſo the committee, and the whole houſe immediately after, came to the following complicated *reſolution*; which (when ratify'd by both houſes) was perhaps the moſt remarkable of all the *Engliſh* records. '*Reſolved*, That King '*James* the ſecond, having endeavour'd to ſubvert 'the conſtitution of the kingdom, by breaking 'the *original contract* between King and people; 'and by the advice of *jeſuits* and other wicked 'perſons, having violated the *fundamental laws*, 'and withdrawn himſelf out of the kingdom,

Their Grand Vote of the Vacancy of the Throne.

'hath

'hath *abdicated* the government, and that the 'throne is thereby *vacant*.' Which *reſolution* was immediately ſent up to the lords for their concurrence.

Having got through this grand vote, the next day they enter'd upon another not a little remarkable, 'Reſolv'd, That it hath been found by experience, to be inconſiſtent with this *proteſtant* kingdom, to be govern'd by a *popiſh* prince,' which vote they likewiſe ſent up to the lords for their concurrence. *Other Votes.*

Soon after they voted, 'That the thanks of 'the houſe be given to the clergy of the church 'of *England*, who had preach'd and written a-'gainſt *popery*, and had refus'd to read in the 'churches the King's *declaration* for toleration, 'in oppoſition to the pretended *diſpenſing power*, 'claim'd in the late reign of King *James* the ſe-'cond, and had oppos'd the *illegal eccleſiaſtical* 'commiſſion.' On the ſame day they further voted 'The thanks of the houſe be given to the 'officers, ſoldiers, and mariners, of the army 'and fleet, for having teſtify'd their ready ad-'herence to the *proteſtant religion*, and being in-'ſtrumental in delivering this kingdom from *po-'pery* and *ſlavery*; and to all ſuch, *who had ap-'pear'd in arms to that purpoſe*.' Theſe two laſt votes paſs'd *nemine contradicente* without the leaſt oppoſition. So that conſidering the ſhortneſs of the time, and the high nature of the ſubject matter of debate, it wou'd be hard to find any great body of men that proceeded with equal unanimity and diſpatch.

II. But at length we arrive at a ſort of a *remora* in the grand affairs, much, if not very much, occaſion'd by the return of King *James*, after his *deſertion*, and ſome uncommon accidents that ſucceeded it. Indeed the great work *The Eſtabliſhment at ſome Stand.*

the *revolution* and *eſtabliſhment*, had mov'd forwards after a wonderful manner, from its firſt appearance to the preſent time, and ſcarce with any degree of oppoſition or obſtruction.

It has been curiouſly obſerv'd, that the whole machine, to the glory of the artificers, was ſo exquiſitely contriv'd, and the parts ſo duly adjuſted, that when it was ſet together and put in motion, it went on with little outward aſſiſtance, in ſuch order and regularity, that many of thoſe who were carry'd by it, knew not that they were leaving their old government, 'till they were quietly lodg'd under a new one; ſo that the workmanſhip, tho' effected by viſible means, ſeem'd more divine than human. But at length, for a while, it appear'd to have been at a ſtand; tho' it was plainly got upon ſuch ground, that, notwithſtſtanding any impediments laid in its way, it wou'd ſoon be carry'd forwards by its own weight. The eſſential parts, the *deliverance* of the nation, were compleated without any appearing difficulty; but the finiſhing parts, the *eſtabliſhment* of the government, met with ſome obſtructions. As to the former, which was ſo deſirable and ſignal, there appear'd an univerſal agreement; but the latter, which was of another nature, caus'd variety of opinions.

The Lords under Difficulties.

This laſt ſhow'd itſelf moſt plainly in the houſe of peers; where many of that auguſt body, who had entertain'd notions of the church and monarchy very high and extenſive, ſoon found themſelves under difficulties they had never felt before. To extricate themſelves, ſeveral arguments and ſchemes were propos'd to ſecure the honour of the church, and the ſacredneſs of the crown.

It was alledg'd, 'That if upon any pretence 'whatſoever, the nation might throw off their 'King, then the crown muſt become precari-

'ous

'ous, and the ſupremacy be lodg'd in the peo-
'ple; which *depoſing* power wou'd deſtroy the
'happy *mixture* in the *Engliſh* monarchy, and
'end in a new ſpecies of government unknown
'to that nation.' Much was brought from both the laws and hiſtory of *England*, to prove, 'That not only the *perſon*, but the *authority* 'of the King was ſacred. The law had indeed 'provided a remedy of a *regency*, during the 'infancy of our Kings; ſo that, if a King ſhou'd 'fall into ſuch errors and inconſiſtencies, as 'ſhou'd make him as little capable of govern-'ing as an infant, then the *eſtates* of the king-'dom might, by parity of reaſon, apply the ſame 'remedy provided for an infant, and lodge the 'power with a *regent*. But ſtill the right was 'to remain, and to go on in a *lineal ſucceſſion*; 'otherwiſe the crown wou'd ſoon become *ele-'ctive*, and ſo the nation be torn in pieces by a 'diverſity of elections, and a variety of factions. 'They did not deny, but that great objections 'lay againſt their propos'd methods; but then 'King *James* by his conduct had brought af-'fairs into ſo deſperate a ſtate, that it was not 'poſſible to name a remedy, or an expedient, 'againſt which there was no juſt exception.' Yet ſtill they inſiſted 'That this was preferable 'to all *republican* ſchemes, which muſt ruinate 'the beſt temper'd government in the weſtern 'world.

They are divided.

But of thoſe that came into this expedient, it preſently appear'd that there were two different parties. Some intended to bring King *James* back; and artfully join'd in this, as the probable means of ſoftening the nation, and removing the preſent averſion to that unhappy prince; which done, a little time might bring about their deſigns.

But

But the greater part ſeem'd to mean more ſincerely, without any ſiniſter projects. They alledg'd, 'They cou'd not vote or argue but 'according to their own principles, as long as 'the matter was entire and undecided: but they 'own'd they had a particular principle, taken 'from the law and hiſtory of *England*, which 'was to obey and pay allegiance to the King for 'the time being: They thought a King *de facto* 'had a right to their obedience; and that they 'were bound to adhere to him, and to defend 'him, even in *oppoſition* to him whom they be-'liev'd the *right* did ſtill remain.' And ſome ſaid, 'Tho' they cou'd not vote contrary to their 'receiv'd principles concerning our laws and 'government, yet they wou'd not *be ſorry to ſee* '*their own ſide out-voted*; and tho', as things 'ſtood, they cou'd not tell how to *make a King*; 'yet if they *found one made*, they wou'd be more 'faithful to him, than thoſe that made him cou'd 'be, according to their own principles.

Theſe and the like debates were enter'd on the 29th of *January*, when the lords began to conſider the grand vote of the houſe of commons formerly mention'd, concerning King *James*. This they did with all imaginable circumſpection; ſeveral of them not well knowing how to proceed, much leſs how to recede. But being reſolv'd into a committee of the whole houſe, and the earl of *Danby* in the chair, the firſt motion that was made, was, 'Not to agree 'with the commons, *That the throne was va-*'*cant*, but only firſt to ſuppoſe it, for the pre-'ſent, leaving it to be further examin'd after-'wards, in order to cut ſhort ſeveral other que-'ſtions, by determining this firſt, *Whether the* '*throne being vacant, it ought to be fill'd by a* 'Regent *or a* King.' This queſtion was debated

bated with great plauſibleneſs, and no little warmth. The arguments juſt now mention'd, and the inſtance of the late King of *Portugal*, urg'd by the earl of *Nottingham*, and others, appear'd to bear a mighty ſway and influence in the houſe, inſomuch that it wou'd have been carry'd by a majority, had it not been ſtrenuouſly oppos'd by the marquis of *Hallifax* and the earl of *Danby*, who by their great skill and acuteneſs laid open the inextricable difficulties attending that propoſal. Therefore they inſiſted, That the vacant throne might be fill'd with a *King*, as the ſureſt way to preſerve both the nation, and the regal government.

A Regency propos'd.

It was particularly urg'd by them and others, 'That a prince *regent* was as much, or rather 'more againſt monarchy, than what they had 'propos'd. If a King's ill government gave 'the people a right, in any caſe, to take a-'way his power, and lodge it with another, 'owning that the right to it ſtill remain'd 'with him; this wou'd have as ill conſequences 'as the other ſeem'd to have; ſince recourſe 'wou'd be had to this violent remedy as often, 'and as raſhly as the other. By this propoſi-'tion, there wou'd be in effect two Kings' at 'the ſame time; one with the *title*, and the 'other with the *power*; which was more ille-'gal and unſafe, than the method then pro-'poſed. As to the ſubjects ſecurity, the law 'of *England* had in the reign of *Henry* the ſe-'venth, ſettled that point in their obeying the 'King in poſſeſſion; ſo that every man knew 'he was ſafe under a King, and cou'd act with 'conſcience and courage. But no man cou'd 'act with ſafety under a new created prince '*regent*, while a lawful *King* was in being. If 'the oaths to King *James* were thought to be 'ſtill in force, his ſubjects by theſe were not

Arguments againſt it.

'only

'only bound to maintain his title, but all his 'powers and prerogatives. And therefore it 'ſeem'd abſur'd to continue a government in his '*name*, and to ſwear to him, when all the '*power* was taken out of his hands. This, they 'ſaid, wou'd be odious before God and the 'world; and wou'd caſt a reproach on them 'at preſent, and bring ruin for the future on 'any ſuch ill-blended and unnatural ſort of go-'verment.

They further alledg'd, 'That if the govern-'ment ſhou'd be carry'd on in the *name* of 'King *James*, by the hands of others, the 'body of the nation wou'd conſider him as the 'perſon who was really their King. And if 'any ſhou'd plot or act in his behalf, they cou'd 'not be proſecuted for *high-treaſon*, as conſpi-'ring againſt the *perſon* or *government* of the 'King; when it wou'd be apparent, that they 'were only deſigning to preſerve his perſon, 'and reſtore him to his government. To pro-'ceed againſt, and to condemn any to die for 'ſuch practice, wou'd be to add murder to per-'jury.' They acknowledg'd indeed, 'That in 'the weakneſs of infancy, a prince *regent* was, 'in law, the ſame perſon with the King, who 'himſelf had not yet a will; and it was pre-'ſum'd, That the *regent*'s will was the King's 'will. But that was no ways applicable to 'the preſent caſe; where the *King* and the *re-'gent* muſt be preſum'd to be in a perpetual 'ſtruggle, the one to recover his former power, 'and the other to preſerve his preſent autho-'rity.

A Regency rejected.

Theſe arguments, inlarg'd and diverſify'd, ſeem'd to have had juſt effect enough to preſerve a majority in the houſe; ſo that when the queſtion was put to the vote, fifty one were for a *King*, and forty nine for a *regent*, namely,

namely, the dukes of *Somerſet*, *Ormond*, *Southampton*, *Grafton*, *Beaufort* and *Northumberland*; the earls of *Kent*, *Pembroke*, *Clarendon*, *Rocheſter*, *Craven*, *Weſtmorland*, *Scarſdale*, *Cheſterfield*, *Litchfield*, *Yarmouth* and *Lindſey*; viſcount *Weymouth*, the lords *Coventry*, *Brook*, *Leigh*, *Ferrars*, *Maynard*, *Chandois*, *Jermin*, *Arundel* of *Trerife*, *Dartmouth*, *Godolphin*, *Griffin*, and five more; the archbiſhop of *York*, the biſhops of *Norwich*, *Wincheſter*, *Ely*, St. *Aſaph*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Peterborough*, *Chicheſter*, *Rocheſter*, St. *David's*, *Oxford*, *Glouceſter*, and *Lincoln*. The earls of *Huntington* and *Mulgrave* did not appear in the houſe; and the lord *Churchill* likewiſe kept at home upon ſome indiſpoſition. The archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was alſo abſent: And indeed the odiouſneſs of a *depoſing power*, as one of the great arts and inſtruments of *popery*, had made ſo deep an impreſſion upon the minds of the clergy, that none of the biſhops knew how to come into the opinion of filling up the throne, but thoſe of *London* and *Briſtol*.

However the party for a *King*, upon a reconſideration, were preſently ſtrengthned by four dukes that came over to them, namely, *Ormond*, *Southampton*, *Grafton* and *Northumberland*.

The Original Contract debated,

On the next ſeſſion, *January* 31. the lords proceeded farther upon the grand vote of the other houſe, and put this queſtion, *Whether or no there was an* original contract *between King and people?* Which queſtion occaſion'd many warm debates; not a few maintaining, That Kings held their crowns by *divine right*; which was vehemently deny'd by others, who aſſerted, That all power originally belong'd to the *community*, and to the King only by *mutual compact*. The former inſiſted that there was no ſuch thing in being, and ask'd, Where it was kept, and how they might come at it?

Others

Others anſwer'd it was imply'd in a legal and limited government; tho' in a long tract of time, and in dark ages, there was not ſuch an explicit proof of it to be found. Yet many hints from law-books, ancient hiſtories, and the proceedings at coronations, were brought to ſupport the truth of it. 'And even the conqueror himſelf was receiv'd upon his promiſing to keep the laws of *Edward* the *confeſſor*; which was plainly the *original contract* between him and the nation. Theſe were often renew'd by his ſucceſſors, more eſpecially by their ſeveral confirmations of *magna charta*; and *Edward* the ſecond, and *Richard* the ſecond were depos'd for breaking theſe laws and compacts; and theſe proceedings were ſtill good in law, ſince they were never revers'd, nor was the right of depoſing them ever renounc'd or diſown'd.' It was ask'd, 'What ſignify'd all the *limitations* of the regal power, if when a King broke thro' them all, the people were left without remedy to maintain their laws, and preſerve their conſtitution. And even if theſe *limitations* were only *extorted conceſſions*, length of time made no difference between them and *original privileges*. It was indeed confeſs'd, that this might have ill conſequences, and might be carry'd too far; but the denying this right, in every caſe whatſoever, did plainly deſtroy all liberty, and eſtabliſh tyranny.

and confirm'd. Upon the finiſhing this debate, the houſe being divided, fifty three were for the *mutual compact*, and forty ſix only for the negative; by which it appear'd, That the party that were for the *regency* began to loſe ground. And the next queſtion was, *Whether King* James *had broke the ſaid* original contract? But, upon entering into particulars, this became ſo apparent that

that it was ſoon carry'd in the affirmative. And thus they finiſh'd the month of *January*.

FEBRUARY $168\frac{8}{9}$.

III. While theſe and the like matters were warmly debated in the *convention* and the city, and all men ſtill in ſuſpence how they wou'd be determin'd, ſome zealous perſons ſet on foot the following petition, and endeavour'd to get it ſubſcrib'd by the multitude indifferently, going to all publick places to ſolicit mens hands: *To the lords ſpiritual and temporal aſſembled in the* grand convention, *the humble petition of great numbers of citizens and other inhabitants of the cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter. *A Petition to the Lords,*

'Whereas we are in a deep ſenſe of the danger of delays, and perplex'd debates about ſettling the government, at this time *vacant*, by reaſon whereof, the neceſſary ends of government cannot be duly adminiſter'd; We humbly deſire, That his moſt illuſtrious highneſs the prince of *Orange*, and his royal conſort the princeſs, may be ſpeedily ſettled on the throne, by whoſe courage, conduct and reputation, this nation and the *proteſtant religion* may be defended from our enemies at home and abroad; and that *Ireland*, now in a bleeding and deplorable condition, may be reſcu'd from its miſeries, and theſe kingdoms ſettled on a laſting foundation in *peace* and *liberty*.

Tho' his highneſs the prince had of late been very ſilent and reſerv'd, yet being ſenſible of the ill conſequences and the ſcandal of theſe prepoſterous proceedings, he immediately caus'd the lord mayor to publiſh the following order to ſuppreſs it: *By the Lord Mayor*, &c. *Diſcouraged by the Prince.*

'Whereas

'Whereas his highneſs the prince of *Orange* 'has been pleas'd to ſignify to me this day; 'That divers perſons (pretending themſelves to 'be citizens of *London*) in a tumultuous and diſ-'orderly manner have lately diſturb'd the pre-'ſent *convention* of the lords and commons at '*Weſtminſter* upon pretence of *petitioning*. It 'being regular and uſual for the citizens of this 'city, that are under the apprehenſions of any 'grievance, to make their application to my 'ſelf, and the court of aldermen: Therefore, 'with the advice of my brethren, the alder-'men of this city, theſe are to require you, 'That you command within your *ward*, that 'they forbear any ſuch tumultuous diſturbance, 'or aſſembly, as they will anſwer the contrary 'at their utmoſt peril.

Further Proceedings of the Lords.

However, the noble lords proceeded in their own way; and after they had agreed, *That King* James *had broke the* original contract, as before explain'd; further to ſhow their diſinclinations for his intereſt, they made a particular order, 'That the day of thankſgiving, on the ſixth of '*February* inſtant, on which day the late King '*James* the ſecond came to the throne, ſhou'd 'not be obſerv'd in this kingdom.

After this, their lordſhips took into their conſideration the word *abdicated*; and concluded that the word *deſerted* was more proper for this occaſion. They next examin'd the word *vacant*, and put this queſtion, *Whether King* James *having broke that* original contract, *between him and his people, and* deſerted *the government, the throne was thereby* vacant? This queſtion was debated with greater heat and diviſion than any of the former.

Different Opinions.

From hence ſeveral took an occaſion to ſhew their private opinions, and that there were different views amongſt them; ſome endeavouring to

to depreſs the crown, and render it as much precarious and elective as they cou'd. Among theſe, ſome went ſo far as to ſay, *That the whole government was diſſolv'd.* But this appear'd a bold and dangerous aſſertion; that might be carry'd ſo far as to infer from it, 'That all mens properties, honours, rights and privileges were diſſolv'd.' Therefore it was thought ſafer to ſay, 'That King *James* had diſſolv'd the tye that 'was between him and the nation, and made a '*vacancy* in the throne.

Others avoided new ſpeculations and ſchemes of government, and thought it ſufficient to ſay, 'That in extream caſes all obligations muſt 'ceaſe; and that the preſent emergency of affairs, by reaſon of King *James*'s ill government, and his flying to the enemy, rather 'than comply with reaſonable terms, had put 'the people of *England* on the neceſſity of ſecuring themſelves upon a legal bottom: To 'which they had a prior and unextinguiſhable 'right. Extream dangers wou'd always juſtify 'extream remedies, tho' there was no ſpecial 'proviſion directed to point them out. They 'ſaid there was no need of fearing ill conſequences from this; ſince houſes were pull'd 'down or blown up in a fire; and yet men 'found themſelves ſafe in their houſes. So a 'nation's ſecuring it ſelf againſt a King, who 'was ſubverting the government, did not expoſe monarchy, nor erect a popular authority, 'as ſome had weakly and tragically repreſented 'it.

But ſtill the word *vacant* was very ſhocking to many, ſo that upon a diviſion in the houſe, one party, who maintain'd it as a maxim of the law, *That the King never dies*, and therefore, *that the throne can never be vacant*, carry'd the negative of the queſtion by eleven voices. From this, *The Vacancy queſtion'd.*

ſome peers preſently inferr'd, That the crown was devolv'd upon the next heir; and mov'd, that the prince and princeſs of *Orange* ſhou'd be immediately declared King and Queen; which was alſo carry'd in the negative by five voices. Before they roſe, the marquiſſes of *Halliſax* and *Wincheſter*, the earls of *Danby* and *Devonſhire*, the lord *Delamere*, and others, to the number of forty, enter'd their proteſtations againſt the ſaid vote, *That the throne was not vacant.*

In a lord's manuſcript, never yet publiſh'd, we find that on the ſecond of this month, the lord *Lovelace* ſtood up, and offer'd a petition to the houſe. Upon which the lord *Clarendon* mov'd, 'That, according to the ſtanding or-'der of the houſe, he himſelf ſhou'd open it, 'and acquaint the houſe with the contents of 'it, and by whom it was ſign'd;' which was ſeconded by the lord *Ferrars*. Upon which the lord *Lovelace* withdrew it, ſaying, *It was not ſign'd yet, but ſhou'd be by hands enough.* Some lords who look'd upon it, found that it came from the rabble, of which great numbers flock'd that morning to *Weſtminſter*, with *Will. Killigrew* at the head of them; all incourag'd, as ſome of them ſaid, by the lord *Lovelace* himſelf.

Amendments to the Commons Vote.

This ſeem'd to have made little impreſſion upon their lordſhips; who this day, having gone through the grand vote of the commons, they ſent this meſſage to them, That they had conſider'd of their vote of the 28th of *January* laſt; inſtead of the word *abdicated*, they wou'd have *deſerted* to be put in; and next, theſe words, *And that the throne is thereby become vacant*, to be left out.

IV. And

IV. And now began the great ſtruggle between the two houſes, concerning the manner of compleating the *eſtabliſhment*, which brought the minds of multitudes both under ſuſpence and apprehenſion. For as ſoon as the commons had conſider'd of theſe amendments, it was carry'd by a great majority, That a committee ſhou'd be appointed to draw up reaſons, why that houſe cou'd not concur with their lordſhips; which were as follows. *The Commons Reaſons againſt them.*

'That to 'the *Firſt* amendment, the commons did not 'agree, becauſe the word *deſerted* did not fully 'expreſs the *concluſion* neceſſarily inferr'd from 'the *premiſes*, which their lordſhips had agreed 'to, namely, *That King* James *the ſecond had 'endeavour'd to ſubvert the* conſtitution *of the 'Kingdom, by breaking the* original contract *be'tween King and people, and had violated the* fun'damental laws, *and had withdrawn himſelf out 'of the kingdom:* That the word *deſerted* re'ſpected only the *withdrawing*; but the word '*abdicated* reſpected the *whole*.

'That the commons cou'd not agree to the '*ſecond* amendment, to leave out the words, '*And that the throne is thereby vacant:* 1ſt, Be'cauſe they conceiv'd, That as they might well 'infer from ſo much of their own vote as their 'lordſhips had agreed unto, *That King* James *the 'ſecond had* abdicated *the government, and that 'the throne was thereby vacant:* So that if the 'commons ſhou'd admit their lordſhips amend'ment, that he had only *deſerted the government*, 'yet even thence it wou'd follow, That the '*throne is vacant*, as to King *James* the ſecond; '*deſerting the government*, being in true conſtru'ction, *deſerting the throne*.

'*Secondly*, That the commons conceiv'd they 'needed not to prove to their lordſhips, That,

'as to any other perſon, the *throne was alſo va-*
'*cant:* Their lordſhips, as the commons con-
'ceiv'd, having already admitted it, by their
'addreſſing the prince of *Orange*, *to take upon*
'*him the adminiſtration of publick affairs*, &c.
'and by appointing days of *publick thankſgiving*
'to be obſerv'd throughout the whole king-
'dom: All which the commons conceiv'd to
'imply, that it was their lordſhips opinion,
'*That the throne was vacant*, and to ſignify ſo
'much to the people of *England*.

'And *Thirdly*, That it is from thoſe who are
'upon the throne of *England* (when there are
'any ſuch) from whom the people of *England*
'ought to receive *protection*, and to whom, for
'that cauſe, they owe the *allegiance* of ſub-
'jects; but there being none now from whom
'they expected *regal* protection, and to whom,
'for that cauſe, they owe the *allegiance* of ſub-
'jects, the commons conceiv'd, *The throne was*
'*vacant*.

Whereupon it was reſolv'd that the earl of *Wiltſhire* ſhou'd deſire a *conference* with the lords, upon the ſubject matter of the amendments; which their lordſhips having readily conſented to, the commons appointed the ſame *committee* that had prepared the foregoing reaſons, to be the *managers* of the ſaid *conference*.

The Lords Reply. The next day, *Feb.* 5. Mr. *Hambden* reported from the *conference* with the lords, that the earl of *Nottingham* had ſpoke to this effect; 'That the lords had deſired this conference,
'that they might be as happily united to the
'commons in opinion, as they were inſeparable
'in their intereſt; and that they were at that
'time uneaſy, that they cou'd not concur with
'the commons in every thing, becauſe it was
'of ſo great concern to the nation, and from ſo
'great and wiſe a body.

'That

'That the lords did inſiſt upon the firſt a-
'mendment, becauſe they did not find that the
'word *abdicated*, was a word known to the
'common law of *England*; and becauſe in the
'moſt common acceptation in the civil law,
'*abdicated* was a voluntary expreſs act of *renun-*
'*ciation*, which was not in this caſe, and did
'not follow from the premiſes, *That King* James
'*the ſecond by having withdrawn himſelf, after*
'*having endeavour'd to ſubvert the conſtitution of*
'*the government, by breaking the* original contract
'*between King and people*, might be more pro-
'perly ſaid to have *abdicated* and *deſerted*. That
'the lords alſo inſiſted upon the ſecond amend-
'ment; for, altho' their lordſhips had agreed,
'That the King had *deſerted* the government,
'and therefore had made application to the
'prince of *Orange*, *to take upon him the admini-*
'*ſtration of the government*; yet there cou'd be
'no other inference drawn from hence, but
'only, the exerciſe of the government of King
'*James* was ceas'd: So as the lords were wil-
'ling to ſecure the nation againſt the return of
'the ſaid King into his kingdom; but not that
'here was ſuch an *abdication* by him, or ſuch a
'*vacancy in the throne*, as that the crown was
'therefore become *elective*: Which they cou'd
'not agree to.

'1ſt, Becauſe by the *conſtitution* of the go-
'vernment, the monarchy is *hereditary* and not
'*elective*. 2dly, Becauſe no act of the King
'can bar or deſtroy the *right* of his heirs to the
'crown: And therefore, in anſwer to the third
'reaſon alledg'd by the houſe of commons, If
'the throne be *vacant* of King *James*, allegi-
'ance was due to ſuch perſon as the *right of*
'*ſucceſſion* did belong to.

From theſe arguments it plainly appear'd, that the diſſent of the lords from the commons, did

not ariſe from any affection or favour, either to the *perſon*, or to the *government* of King *James*; but rather from a tender regard to the *proteſtant ſucceſſors*, and the reſpectful and legal notions of *hereditary monarchy*; which had been too long rooted, to be eaſily remov'd at once.

Which occaſions

However, when Mr. *Hambden* made his *report* of this late *conference*, the queſtion was put, *Whether the commons ſhou'd concur with the lords?* As to the firſt amendment about the word *abdicated*, it was carry'd in the negative with great unanimity: But the ſecond, leaving out the *vacancy of the throne*, occaſion'd a long and warm debate, till upon the diviſion of the houſe, thoſe for diſagreeing with the lords were found to be two hundred and eighty two, againſt one hundred and fifty one; the majority one hundred and thirty one. Hereupon Mr. *Dolben* was order'd to deſire a *free conference* with the lords upon the ſubject matter of the laſt *conference*; to which their lordſhips very readily agreed. Accordingly the commons appointed twenty four great men to manage upon this extraordinary occaſion; and the lords appointed a number according to uſual proportion.

A free and famous Conference.

This, the next day, produc'd the moſt memorable conference and debate, between both houſes, that had been known for many ages, which was carry'd on with all coolneſs, decency and attention. It is too long to be inſerted in this place, but may be found in ſeveral printed books at large, to which the reader is referr'd; only we muſt not forget, that according to the ſenſe of the nation, the commons had much the advantage; and indeed ſo much, as at laſt to bring the lords over to their opinions. The lords had more colour for oppoſing the word *abdicate*, ſince it was often taken

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in a ſenſe that imported the full purpoſe and conſent of him that abdicated; which they believ'd wou'd not be pretended in this caſe. But there were good authorities brought, by which it appear'd, that when a perſon acted ſo as the leaving of his office ought to follow, he was ſaid to *abdicate*. But this ſeem'd rather a critical diſpute, and not equal to the importance of the cauſe.

But what was of greater moment in the debate, was, Whether, ſuppoſing King *James* had *abdicated*, the throne cou'd be declared *vacant*. In this it was urg'd, 'That as by the law the 'King did never die, ſo if there was an *abdi-* 'cation, the throne was *ipſo facto*, fill'd in that 'inſtant by the next heir. Which appear'd by 'the heirs of the King being ſworn to in the 'oath of allegiance; which oath was not on-'ly made, perſonally to the King, but likewiſe 'to his heirs and ſucceſſors.' Thoſe who inſiſted on the *abdication* alledg'd, 'That if the 'King diſſolv'd the tye between him and his 'ſubjects to himſelf, he diſſolv'd their tye like-'wiſe to his poſterity. An heir was one that 'came in the room of a perſon wholly deceas'd; 'and it was a maxim, *That no man cou'd be the* 'heir of a living man. If therefore a King had 'fallen from his own right, as no heir of his 'cou'd claim any inheritance from him, as long 'he was alive, ſo they cou'd ſucceed to no-'thing, but to that which was veſted in him 'at the time of his death.

And further, 'As in the caſe of *attainder*, e-'very right that a man was diveſted of before 'his death, was to all purpoſes, annihilated in 'him; and by conſequence cou'd not paſs to 'his heirs by his death, not being then in 'himſelf: So, if a King ſhou'd ſet his people 'free from any obligation to himſelf, they muſt

'be ſuppos'd to be put in a ſtate, in which they 'might ſecure themſelves; and therefore cou'd 'not be bound to receive one, who they had 'reaſon to believe wou'd endeavour to break 'and to puniſh all they had done. If the prin-'ciple of ſelf-preſervation did juſtify a nation in 'ſecuring it ſelf from a violent invaſion, and a 'total ſubverſion, then that principle muſt have 'its full ſcope and force, to give a real, and not 'a ſeeming, and fraudulent ſecurity. How-'ever, they ſtill acknowledg'd, That upon the 'grounds of natural equity, and for the peace 'of the nation in after-time, it was proper to 'go as near the ancient conſtitution, and the 'lineal ſucceſſion, as they poſſibly cou'd. Yet 'ſtill they wou'd not yield that they were un-'alterably bound to it, in all caſes that might 'happen; and in that the lords had ſo far ac-'knowledg'd by their joining with the com-'mons vote, *That it was inconſiſtent with this* 'proteſtant *kingdom to be govern'd by a* popiſh '*prince*. This was already breaking the line; 'and wou'd be ſo again, whenever a *proteſtant* 'heir ſhou'd be wanting.

By this conference and debate, which laſted ſeveral hours, it plainly appear'd, That the opinion was almoſt univerſal, 'That King *James* had '*abdicated* or *forfeited* his own perſonal right;' but the main difficulty that aroſe was from the tender regard to his heirs, and probably from the prince of *Wales* himſelf; concerning whoſe title, both lords and commons ſeem'd reſolv'd not to have the leaſt argument. Upon the concluſion of the debate, as ſoon as the managers for the lords had made a report in that houſe, there aroſe a new debate there, long and warm, Whether or no they ſhou'd inſiſt upon their amendments, or agree with the grand vote of the commons of *January* the 28th.

But

But by this time, ſeveral of the chief members, who were before for a *regency*, were ſatisfy'd, and came over to the party that were for a *King*; which was alſo increas'd by the late arrival of ſome lords: Inſomuch that the two queſtions about the words *abdicate* and *vacant*, were both carried in the affirmative. So that the vote now became the baſis and foundation on which the *grand eſtabliſhment* was to ſtand ſure and firm to future ages. From which principles, and the general opinion of both lords and commons, That the perſonal right of King *James* was not *unalienable*; it has been often inferr'd, *That there can be no* indefeaſible *right in any of his heirs, either near or remote.*

The Lords agree with the Commons.

V. It is remarkable, that during all theſe debates, and the variety of the management, the behaviour of the prince was very myſterious. He continu'd moſtly at *St. James*'s, ſilent and reſerv'd, without any publick appearance; hearing all that was ſaid to him, but ſeldom making any anſwers. He did not affect affability, or popularity; nor wou'd he take pains to gain a ſingle perſon over to his party. He ſaid, *He came over upon invitation to ſave the kingdom; and now he had brought together a true and free repreſentative of the nation; he therefore left it to them to do what they thought beſt for the good of the kingdom; and when things were once ſettled, he ſhould be well ſatisfy'd to return back to* Holland.

The peculiar Behaviour of the Prince.

Some who did not know him well, and believ'd that a crown had charms too ſtrong for human nature to reſiſt, look'd upon all this as affectation; and others, as a diſguis'd threatning, ſignifying, That he wou'd leave the nation to periſh, unleſs his own method of ſettlement was follow'd.

After

After a reſervedneſs, that for many days had ſo cloſely continu'd, that no one cou'd certainly tell what he expected, he ſent for the marquiſs of *Hallifax*, and the earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Danby*, and ſome others of great knowledge, to explain himſelf more diſtinctly to them. He let them know, 'That he had been ſilent till then, 'becauſe he wou'd neither ſay nor do the leaſt 'thing that might ſeem to intrench upon any 'man's full freedom of deliberating and voting 'in matters of ſuch importance. He was re-'ſolv'd neither to court or threaten any perſon 'whatſoever; and therefore he had wholly de-'clin'd giving out his own thoughts. He found 'ſome were for putting the government into the 'hands of a *regent*: He would ſay nothing a-'gainſt that, if it was thought the beſt means 'for ſettling their affairs; only he thought it ne-'ceſſary to tell them, That he himſelf wou'd not 'be the *regent*. Therefore, if they continu'd in 'that deſign, they muſt look out for ſome other 'perſon to be put in that ſtation; for he him-'ſelf ſo well knew the conſequences of it, that 'he wou'd not accept of it.

He opens himſelf.

'He ſaid, he found that others were for put-'ting the princeſs ſingly on the throne, and that 'he ſhou'd reign by her courteſy: To which 'he ſaid, no man cou'd eſteem a woman more 'than he did the princeſs; but he was of that 'temper, that he cou'd not think of holding any 'thing upon ſuch terms as the life of a wife; 'nor cou'd he think it reaſonable to have any 'ſhare in the government, unleſs it was veſted 'in his perſon, and that for term of life. If 'they thought fit to ſettle it otherwiſe, he wou'd 'not oppoſe them in it; but he wou'd return 'back to *Holland*, and concern himſelf no more 'in their affairs. He aſſur'd them, *That what-'ſoever others might think of a crown, it did not*

'*appear*

'*appear ſuch a thing in his eyes, but that he cou'd* '*live very well, and very well pleas'd without it.*

But in the concluſion, he ſaid, 'That tho' he 'cou'd not reſolve to accept of a dignity, ſo as 'to hold it under the life of another; yet he 'thought, That the iſſue of the princeſs *Anne* 'ſhou'd be preferr'd in the ſucceſſion, to any iſ-'ſue that he might have by any other wife after 'the preſent princeſs.' All this the prince deliver'd to them in ſo cold and unconcern'd a manner, that thoſe, who judg'd of others by their own warm diſpoſitions to glory, were ready to look upon it as artifice and contrivance. *His Concluſion.*

As this was not deſign'd to be kept ſecret, ſo it was ſoon reported abroad; and as it help'd to fix the minds of many, ſo it did to bring the debates of *Weſtminſter* to a ſpeedy determination. But ſtill there remain'd doubts with relation to the right of the princeſs, whom many people favour'd; ſome out of conſcience, and others out of policy and intereſt. The latter judg'd, That if ſhe ſhould think herſelf injur'd, ſhe, who by reaſon of her youth and health, was like to out-live the prince, might have it in her power to take revenge on all that ſhou'd concur in ſuch a deſign. The difficulty was greater, becauſe the mind and inclination of the princeſs continu'd yet undiſcover'd. *Doubts about the Princeſs*

This ſecret having been known to Dr. *Burnet* above two years before, he thought this the critical ſeaſon to divulge it; accordingly he apply'd to obtain leave from the prince, who left him to act as he pleas'd; which he fairly look'd upon as a full allowance. Upon his diſcovery of the princeſs's reſolution of ſubmiſſion. many, who ſtood formerly in ſuſpence, were fully ſatisfy'd. Yet he ſaid that thoſe that heard it ſtood amaz'd at it, and concluded, that the princeſs was either a very good, or a very weak woman: Such *Clear'd.*

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an indifferency for power and rule ſeem'd a thing ſo extraordinary, that it was thought a certain character of an exceſs of goodneſs, or of ſimplicity.

The Lords Proceedings.

And now the intentions of both their highneſſes being known, all things went on with more eaſe and ſmoothneſs; and the houſe of peers had no ſooner paſs'd the commons grand vote beforemention'd, *Feb.* 6th, but they appear'd more forward than the other houſe. In this, the earl of *Danby*, who had carry'd things very high in favour of the princeſs, now made a fine ſpeech, not only to prove the vacancy of the throne, but the neceſſity of ſupplying of it by the prince of *Orange*.

Herein he was ſtrenuouſly ſupported by the marquiſs of *Hallifax*, who had carry'd matters as high for the prince; and taking advantage of this favourable opportunity, immediately put the queſtion, *Whether their highneſſes the prince and princeſs of* Orange, *ſhou'd be declar'd King and Queen.* This important vote was at once carry'd by twenty voices, ſixty five againſt forty five, and paſs'd in theſe words, ‘ *Reſolved*, ‘ by the lords *ſpiritual* and *temporal*, aſſem- ‘ bled at *Weſtminſter*, That the prince and prin- ‘ ceſs of *Orange*, ſhall be declared King and ‘ Queen of *England*, and all the dominions there- ‘ unto belonging.

Their grand Vote,

At their next ſeſſion, their lordſhips explain'd this great reſolution by farther voting, ‘ That ‘ the prince and princeſs of *Orange* ſhou'd be ‘ King and Queen of *England*, &c. for their na- ‘ tural lives, and life of the longer liver of them; ‘ and that the ſole and full *regal power* be in the ‘ prince only, in the *name* of both. And that ‘ after their deceaſes, the crown ſhall belong to ‘ the heirs of the body of the princeſs; and for ‘ default of ſuch iſſue, to the princeſs *Anne* of *Den-* ‘ *mark*, and the heirs of her body; and for de- ‘ fault

And Explanation.

'fault of ſuch iſſue, to the heirs of the body of 'the ſaid prince of *Orange*; and for the default 'of ſuch iſſue, to the perſon that ſhou'd be 'nam'd, and in ſuch manner as ſhou'd be limi-'ted by act of parliament; and for default of 'ſuch limitation and regulation, to the lawful 'heirs of the ſaid prince of *Orange*.

In this ſeſſion we are inform'd by an anonymous lord in his manuſcript, That he mov'd ſeveral lords to enter their *diſſents* to theſe remarkable votes; but it ſeems, that tho' they were ready enough in their inclinations, yet they thought the caſe ſo nice, that they all refus'd to ſubſcribe their names. *Some are fearful.*

Theſe great votes and reſolutions being ſent down to the commons, and their concurrence deſiren, after a ſhort debate, they were agreed to with ſome amendments. Their lordſhips alſo communicated to the commons the particular oaths which they thought fit to be taken inſtead of thoſe of *allegiance* and *ſupremacy*, which were to be abrogated. Theſe were readily approv'd of by the commons; but were proteſted againſt in the upper houſe, by eleven ſpiritual and twelve temporal lords; whoſe number, within two or three days, increas'd to thirty ſeven; and who not only declar'd againſt the *oaths*, but expreſs'd themſelves againſt the *abdication* and the *vacancy* of the throne. *Some differ.*

All which time, a ſelect committee of the houſe of commons, and Mr. *Somers* at the head of them, were buſily employ'd in drawing up a ſolemn *declaration of rights*, containing the ſeveral facts and reaſons of King *James*'s forfeiture of the crown; aſſerting the undoubted rights and liberties of the ſubject; ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown, and appointing the new oaths. While they were inlarging upon particulars, and increaſing of limitations, we are told *The Commons great Buſineſs.*

told by a private hand, that the management of the prince had ſuch an effect upon the leaders, as to cauſe them to haſten and ſhorten that famous *declaration*.

However, on the 11th inſtant it was ſent up to the lords for their concurrence; on which day, the abovemention'd lord, as the laſt effort, propos'd to thoſe peers, who in moſt of the votes had been of the ſame mind, *That they would all agree by conſent to leave the houſe at once*. But the two leading peers, the earls of *Pembroke* and *Nottingham*, reply'd, *No, by no means, it wou'd be of ill conſequence; we muſt ſupport the government as well as we can; and their lordſhips can never anſwer it, if they leave the houſe*. So on the next day, after ſome debates and a conference, it was agreed to by that houſe, and all things compleated, to the great ſatisfaction of the city and country.

Both Houſes agree.

The Princeſs in Holland.

VI. During theſe ſeveral tranſactions in the *convention*, her royal highneſs, the princeſs at the *Hague* was haſtning her journey to *England*. But ſhe was oblig'd to continue a conſiderable while there, being ſhut up, during the eaſt winds, by the freezing of the rivers, and by contrary winds after the thaw began; ſo that ſhe arriv'd not at *London* till all the debates were juſt over. Her unexpected ſtay caus'd the prince's enemies to give it out, that ſhe was kept there by order, that ſhe might not come over in time to claim her right. And ſo parties began to be form'd, ſome for the prince, and others for the princeſs; which was like to prove of ill conſequence.

This gave an occaſion to the officious earl of *Danby* to ſend a meſſenger over to the princeſs, and by letter to give her an account of the preſent ſtate of that debate; asking to know her

her own ſenſe of the matter; *for*, if ſhe deſir'd it, *he did not doubt but he ſhould be able to carry it for ſettling her alone on the throne.* She return'd him a ſharp anſwer, letting him know, *She was the prince's wife, and wou'd never be any other, than what ſhou'd be in conjunction with him and under him; and that ſhe ſhou'd take it extream unkindly, if any, under the pretence of their care for her, ſhou'd ſet up a divided intereſt, between her and the prince.* *Her Anſwer to the earl of* Danby.

And, not content with this, ſhe immediately ſent both the lord *Danby*'s letter and her anſwer, to the prince. This open proceeding was the moſt effectual diſcouragement that cou'd be to any future attempt to create a miſunderſtanding, or jealouſy between them. The prince bore this cooly, and without any expoſtulation with the earl of *Danby* about it, but continu'd to employ him in the greateſt truſts, and afterwards to honour him with the higheſt titles.

At length, on the 10th inſtant, her royal highneſs left *Holland*, the inhabitants all in tears, and under the deepeſt ſorrow, for the loſs of a princeſs, ſo excellent, and ſo univerſally belov'd. Having a ſhort voyage, ſhe arriv'd on the 12th at *Graveſend*, and ſo at *Greenwich*; where ſhe ſtopt a little in the river to receive her main aſſiſtants, the prince and princeſs of *Denmark*, into the yatch. From whence, taking barge, they all paſs'd up to *White-hall*, amidſt the loud ſhouts and acclamations of the multitude, who doubly rejoic'd, for her happy arrival, and her being juſt declar'd a Queen. It was a joyful day indeed to the people, whoſe tranſports were ſo real and unaffected, that they cou'd never be counterfeited. *She arrives in* England.

Before her appearance, it had been given out, That ſhe was not well pleas'd with the late tranſactions,

actions, with reſpect both to her father, and the preſent ſettlement. Upon which her husband by letter advis'd her, 'That it was neceſſary that ſhe 'ſhou'd at firſt appear ſo chearful, that no one 'might be diſcourag'd by her looks, or made to 'apprehend that ſhe was uneaſy at any thing 'that had been done.' This caus'd her to put on a greater air of gaiety than ſhe intended, when ſhe arriv'd at *White-hall*, before thoſe numbers that came to wait upon her. Her goodneſs wou'd not ſuffer her to be without ſome tender pangs when ſhe enter'd her father's palace, and was going to mount his throne, and therefore ſhe afterwards acknowledg'd, 'That ſhe was then 'obeying directions, and acting a part that was 'not very natural to her.

Her Appearance.

But the ſame night, falling into a more private converſation with the earl of *Danby*, that prime inſtrument both in the *revolution* and *eſtabliſhment*, ſhe ſhew'd her ſentiments with full freedom and openneſs. Upon his diſcourſe to her of the late proceedings, and the intended ſettlements, ſhe ſaid to this effect, *Do you but take care to ſecure the* proteſtant religion, *the liberties of* England, *and the general good of the publick, and then make me what you pleaſe, and as little as you pleaſe.——I value neither titles nor honours, but to ſupport theſe great things. When you can make them ſure without me, ſend me away as ſoon as you pleaſe.* This came from a lady of great honour and quality, who had it from the mouth of the fore-mention'd lord; which lady, tho' a zealous *romaniſt* herſelf, could not but admire the heroick ſentiments of the princeſs.

Her noble Sentiments.

And now all things being perfected and compleated, and the grand *declaration of rights* and a particular *proclamation* paſs'd both houſes, on the next day, *Feb.* 13th, they finiſh'd the migh-

The Finiſhing Day.

ty

ty ſolemnity of eſtabliſhing of no leſs than three kingdoms at one time. The prince and princeſs of *Orange*, being placed on two large ſeats, under a canopy of ſtate, in the *banquetting-houſe*; both houſes of *convention* attended upon their highneſſes in a full body. Having fix'd themſelves in order, they caus'd the clerk of the crown to read with a loud voice their great inſtrument, intitled *The declaration of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons aſſembled at* Weſtminſter; a ſort of a new *magna charta*, the moſt memorable and ſignificant, that had been known for ſeveral ages.

After it has enumerated the ſeveral grievances in the reign, and diſtinct breaches made into the conſtitution by King *James* and his miniſters, as have been formerly recited, it proceeds in theſe words: 'Whereas the late King *James* the ſe- *The DE-*
'cond, having *abdicated* the government, and *CLARA-*
'the throne being thereby *vacant*, his highneſs *TION of*
'the prince of *Orange*, (whom it hath pleas'd *RIGHTS.*
'Almighty GOD to make the glorious inſtru-
'ment of delivering this kingdom from *popery*
'and *arbitrary power*) did (by the advice of the
'lords *ſpiritual* and *temporal*, and divers principal
'perſons of the *commons*) cauſe letters to be writ-
'ten to the lords *ſpiritual* and *temporal*, being
'*proteſtants*; and other letters to the ſeveral
'*counties*, *cities*, *univerſities*, *boroughs*, and *cinque*
'*ports*, for the chuſing of ſuch perſons to repre-
'ſent them, as were of *right* to be ſent to par-
'liament, to meet and ſit at *Weſtminſter*, upon
'the 22d day of *January* in the year 1688, in
'order to ſuch an *eſtabliſhment*, as that their
'*religion*, *laws*, and *liberties*, might not again
'be in danger of being ſubverted. Upon which
'letters, elections having been accordingly made;
'and thereupon the lords *ſpiritual* and *temporal*,
'and *commons*, purſuant to their ſeveral letters

'and elections, being now aſſembled in a full and 'free *repreſentative* of this nation, taking into 'their moſt ſerious conſideration the beſt means 'for attaining the ends aforeſaid, do in the firſt 'place (as their anceſtors in like caſe have uſual-'ly done) for vindicating and aſſerting the an-'cient *rights* and *liberties*, declare,

'1. That the pretended power of *ſuſpending* 'laws, or execution of laws, by *regal authority*, 'without conſent of parliament, is illegal.

'2. That the pretended power of ſuſpending 'laws, or execution of laws, by *regal authority*, 'as it hath been aſſum'd and exercis'd *of late*, is 'illegal.

'3. That the commiſſion for erecting the 'late court of *commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical cau-'ſes*, and all other commiſſions and courts of the 'like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

'4. The levying of money for, or to the uſe 'of the crown, by pretence of *prerogative*, with-'out grant of parliament, for longer time, or 'in any other manner than the ſame is, or ſhall 'be granted, is illegal.

'5. That it is the right of all ſubjects to *pe-'tition* the King, and all commitments and pro-'ſecutions for ſuch petitioning are illegal.

'6. That the raiſing or keeping a *ſtanding 'army* within the kingdom, in time of peace, 'unleſs it be with conſent of parliament, is againſt 'law.

'7. That the ſubjects, that are *proteſtants*, 'may have arms for their defence, ſuitable to 'their condition, and as allow'd by law.

'8. That the elections of members of parlia-'ment ought to be *free*.

'9. That the *freedom of ſpeech*, and debates or 'proceedings in parliament, ought not to be 'impeach'd or queſtion'd in any court, or place 'out of parliament.

'10. That

'10. That *exceſſive bail* ought not to be requir'd, nor *exceſſive fines* impos'd, nor *cruel* and *unuſual puniſhments* inflicted.

'11. That *jurors* ought to be duly empannell'd and return'd; and jurors which paſs upon men in trials of *high-treaſon*, ought to be *free-holders*.

'12. That all grants and promiſes of *fines* and *forfeitures* of particular perſons, before conviction, are illegal and void.

'13. And that for the redreſs of all grievances, and the amending, ſtrengthning and preſerving of the laws, *parliaments* ought to be held frequently.

'And they do claim, demand and inſiſt upon all and ſingular the *premiſſes*, as their undoubted *rights* and *liberties*; and no declarations, judgments, doings or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people in any of the ſaid premiſſes, ought in any wiſe to be drawn hereafter into conſequence and example. To which demand of their *rights*, they are particularly incourag'd by the [ſecond] *declaration* of his highneſs the prince of *Orange*, as being *the only means for obtaining a full redreſs and remedy therein*.

'Having therefore an entire confidence, That his ſaid highneſs the prince of *Orange* will perfect the *deliverance* ſo far advanc'd by him, and will ſtill preſerve them from the violation of their *rights*, which they have here aſſerted, and from all other attempts upon their *religion*, *rights* and *liberties*; the lords *ſpiritual* and *temporal*, and *commons*, aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, do *reſolve*, *That* William *and* Mary, *prince and princeſs of* Orange, *be, and be declared* KING *and* QUEEN *of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the* crown *and* royal dignity *of the ſaid kingdoms and dominions, to them the ſaid prince and princeſs* 'during

By which the Prince and Princeſs are made KING *and* QUEEN.

'*during their lives, and the life of the ſurvivor of* '*them; and that the ſole and full* exerciſe *of the* 'regal power *be only in, and executed by, the ſaid* '*prince of* Orange, *in the* names *of the ſaid prince* '*and princeſs during their joint lives; and after their* '*deceaſe, the ſaid* crown *and* royal dignity *of the* '*ſaid kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of* '*the body of the ſaid princeſs; and for default of* '*ſuch iſſue, to the princeſs* Anne *of* Denmark, *and* '*the heirs of her body; and for default of ſuch iſſue,* '*to the heirs of the body of the ſaid prince of* O-'range.

'And the ſaid lords *ſpiritual* and *temporal*, and '*commons*, do pray the ſaid prince and princeſs of '*Orange* to accept the ſame accordingly. And '*that the oaths* hereafter mentioned be taken by '*all perſons of whom the oaths of allegiance* and '*ſupremacy* might be requir'd by law, inſtead of '*them*; and that the ſaid oaths of *allegiance* and '*ſupremacy* be abrogated.' [*Here it concludes with the two common oaths afterwards fix'd by act of parliament.*]

After the publick reading of this *declaration of rights*, the marquis of *Hallifax*, ſpeaker of the houſe of lords, made a ſolemn tender of the crown to their highneſſes, in the *name* of both houſes, the *repreſentative* of the nation.

The Prince his Anſwer.

Whereupon the prince of *Orange* return'd this following anſwer: My lords and gentlemen, *This is certainly the greateſt proof of the truſt you have in us, that can be given; which is the thing which makes us value it the more; and we thankfully accept what you have offer'd. And as I had no other intention in coming hither, than to* preſerve *your* religion, laws, *and* liberties; *ſo you may be ſure, that I ſhall endeavour to ſupport them, and ſhall be willing to concur in any thing that ſhall be for the good of the kingdom, and to do all that is in my*

power

power to advance the welfare *and* glory *of the nation.*

Upon the concluſion of this auguſt ceremony, the acclamations of the people in the *banquetting-houſe* were immediately reſounded by the multitudes without; and nothing but joy and rapture appear'd in the ſtreets. A ſolemn *proclamation*, which for this purpoſe had paſs'd both houſes in form, was preſently produc'd; ſo remarkable, that it cannot here be totally omitted; beginning thus,

The Proclaiming of WILLIAM *and* MARY.

'Whereas it has pleas'd Almighty God, in his 'great mercy to this kingdom, to vouchſafe us 'a *miraculous deliverance* from *popery* and *arbitrary* 'power; and that our preſervation is due, next 'under God, to the reſolution and conduct of 'his highneſs the prince of *Orange*, whom God 'hath choſen to be the *glorious inſtrument* of ſuch 'an ineſtimable happineſs to us and our poſteri-'ty: And being ſenſible, and fully perſwaded of 'the great and eminent virtue of her highneſs 'the princeſs of *Orange*, whoſe zeal for the *pro-'teſtant* religion, will, no doubt, bring a bleſ-'ſing along with her upon this nation: And 'whereas the lords and commons now aſſembled 'at *Weſtminſter*, have made a *declaration*, and pre-'ſented the ſame to the ſaid prince and princeſs of 'Orange, and therein deſir'd them to accept the 'crown, who have accepted the ſame according-'ly. We therefore, *&c.* do with full conſent 'publiſh and proclaim, according to the ſaid *de-'claration*, *WILLIAM* and *MARY*, prince 'and princeſs of *Orange*, to be KING and 'QUEEN of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, 'with all the dominions and territories thereunto 'belonging, *&c.*

The Solemnity compleated.

This was ſolemnly publiſh'd, with a grand and noble attendance, in all the uſual places; and the whole city and ſuburbs were fill'd with ſuch

overflowings of exultation, as totally drown'd all the little diſcontents and murmurings that had begun to ſhow themſelves upon this ſurprizing change and ſettlement.

And thus, within the compaſs of half a year, with very little bloodſhed, and no convulſion in the nation, was finiſh'd and compleated the ſtupendous *revolution* and ſucceeding *eſtabliſhment*; both of the higheſt conſequence and importance, not only to the *Britiſh* dominions, but to the nobleſt parts of the weſtern world.

The CONCLUSION.

Obſervations, &c. And here we have open'd to us a large field for reflections and obſervations, as well as conjectures and imagination. A change ſo mighty and ſudden at that time; and ſince then, ſo effectual and permanent, may be only a matter of wonder to theſe times, but more like a romance to after-ages. For taking it with all its circumſtances, the whole turn is without precedent or compariſon; which has occaſioned ſo many different apprehenſions as to the ſeveral parts of it; and has made it ſo hard for many to do juſtice to the ſubject.

But before we diſmiſs it, it may fitly be remember'd, That the foremention'd impediments, ariſing from late laws and opinions, tho' for a while imperceivable, prov'd a great damage to this vaſt machine; which, tho' admirably put together, and dexterouſly ſet in motion, conſiſted of ſuch jarring and unequal parts, that it was in danger of falling in pieces ſoon after it had perform'd its great work. Therefore for its ſafety and preſervation it was neceſſary to have the hands of a moſt perfect artificer, and the eyes of a moſt vigilant obſerver of all its motions.

And

And ſuch a one it happily met with in the perſon of King *William*, whoſe invincible courage, and unweary'd patience, ſecur'd it againſt ſuch imminent difficulties, as wou'd have intimidated and diſhearten'd any man that was leſs a hero than himſelf. So that when he accepted of the crown of *England*, he enter'd upon an undertaking, not only the moſt intricate and ungrateful, but the moſt painful and laborious that ever any prince did. Therefore it is no wonder to find him ſo often toiling and working, ſtruggling and contending againſt unforeſeen hardſhips and obſtructions, and more than once reſolving to quit his title and government. But this is matter for the following reign, which will be undertaken in due time.

And here we will venture to conclude all with this very probable, and free aſſertion, That if *England* had been govern'd at that time by any other *popiſh* prince and miniſtry, it wou'd have met with no *deliverance* at all; and if that deliverance had been wrought by any other perſon, than he that did effect it, the benefit had never been of any ſettled or laſting duration.

FINIS.

A List of the Peers daily present in the Convention,

From Jan. 22. to Feb. 13. 168$\frac{8}{9}$.

N. B. This Mark — denotes Present and Assents, D Dissents, M Managers, A Absent.

Lords and their Qualities.		January.			February.						
		22	29	31	4	6	8	9	11	12	13
Abington	E	—	—	—	—	D	A	—	—	—	—
Ailesbury	E	—	—	—	M	M D	—	—	—	—	A
Anglesey	E	A	A	A	—	A	A	A	A	A	A
Arundel, of *Tr.*	L	—	—	A	—	D	—	A	A	A	A
Astley	L	—	A	A	A	—	—	A	—	—	A
Bath and *Wells*	E	A	A	A	—	—	—	—	—	—	A
	B	—	—	—	—	D	—	—	—	—	A
Beaufort	D	—	—	A	A	D	A	A	A	A	A
Bedford	E	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	—	A
Berkley	E	—	—	D	D	D	—	A	—	—	A
of *Str.*	L										A
Bridgewater	E	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	M	—
Bristol	E	—	—	—	D	—	—	A	—	—	—
	B	—	—	—	—	D	—	—	—	—	—
Brook	L	A	—	—	—	D	—	A	—	—	—
Bullingbrook	E	A	—	D	D	—	—	A	—	—	A
Burlington	E	—	—	—	—	A	A	A	—	—	A
Byron	L	A	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	—	—
Carlisle	E	A	—	A	—	—	A	A	A	—	A
Carnarvon	E	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Carteret	L	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	A	A	A
Chamberlain (*Ld Great*)	E	—	—	—	—	—	A	—	—	—	A
Chandois	L	—	—	—	—	D	—	A	—	—	A
Chesterfield	E	—	—	—	M	M	—	—	—	—	A
Chichester	B	—	—	—	—	D	—	A	A	—	A
Churchill	L	—	A	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	A
Clare	E	A	—	—	D	—	—	A	—	—	A
Clarendon	E	—	—	—	M	M D	—	—	—	A	A
Colpeper	L	A	A	D	D	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cornwallis	L	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	—	A
Coventry	L	A	—	—	—	—	—	—	A	—	A
Craven	E	—	—	—	—	D	—	—	—	—	—
Crew	L	—	—	A	—	—	—	—	—	—	A
Danby	E	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dartmouth	L	—	—	—	—	D	—	A	—	—	A
De-la-mere	L	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	M	A
De-la-warr	L	—	—	—	—	D	—	—	—	—	A
Derby	E	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	—	A

Devon

APPENDIX.

Lords and their Qualities.		January. 22	25	31	February. 4	6	8	9	11	12	13
Deven	E	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dorſet	E	—	—	—	D	—	—	—	—	—	A
Durham	B	A	A	A	A	—	—	—	—	A	—
Ely	B	—	—	—	M	M D	—	—	—	—	A
Eure	L	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	—	A
Exeter	E	—	—	—	M	D	—	A	—	A	A
Frauconberg	V	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	A
Ferrars	L	—	—	M	M	—	A	—	A	A	A
Fewerſham	E	—	—	—	—	D	—	A	A	A	—
Glouceſter	B	—	—	—	—	D	—	—	—	—	A
Godolphin	L	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Grafton	D	A	—	—	—	D	—	—	A	—	A
Grey de Ru.	L	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	—	—
Grey de W.	L	—	—	—	D	—	—	—	—	—	A
Griffin	L	—	—	—	—	D	—	—	—	—	A
Halliſax	M	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hatton	V	—	A	—	—	A	—	A	—	—	A
Herbert, of *Ch.*	L	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	—	—
Howard, of *Eſſex*	L	A	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	A
Huntington	E	—	—	A	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Jermyn	L	—	—	A	—	D	—	A	—	—	A
Kent	E	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kingſton	E	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	M	—
Landaff	B	—	—	—	—	D	—	—	—	—	A
Lee	L	A	—	—	—	D	—	—	—	—	A
Lexington	L	A	A	A	—	—	—	—	—	—	A
Lincoln	E	A	A	A	A	—	A	A	A	A	A
Lincoln	B	—	—	—	M	D	—	—	—	—	A
Litchfield	E	—	—	—	—	D	—	A	—	A	A
London	B	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	M	A
Lovelace	L	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lucas	L	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	—	A
Lumley	L	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	—	—
Macclesfield	E	—	—	D	—	—	—	—	—	M	—
Manchester	E	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	A	—	A
Maynard	L	—	—	—	—	D	—	—	—	—	—
Mordaunt	V	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	—	A
Morley	L	A	A	A	—	—	—	—	—	—	A
Montague	L	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	M	—
Newport	V	—	—	—	M	—	—	—	—	M	A
Norfolk	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
North and *Grey*	L	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	—	—
Northampton	E	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	M	A
Northumberland	D	—	—	—	—	D	—	A	A	A	A
Norwich	B	—	—	—	—	D	—	—	—	—	A

Nottingham

APPENDIX.

Lords and their Qualities.		January. 22	29	31	4	6	February. 8	9	11	12	13
Nottingham	E	—	—	—	M	M D	—	—	—	—	A
Ormond	D	—	—	—	—	D	—	—	—	—	A
Oxford	E	—	—	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	A
Oxford	B	—	A	A	A	—	A	A	A	A	A
Padgett	L	—	—	—	D	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pembroke	E	—	—	—	M	M D	—	—	—	—	A
Peterborough	B	—	—	—	M	M D	—	—	A	A	A
Radnor	E	A	—	D	D	—	—	—	A	A	A
Rivers	E	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	M	—
Rocheſter	E	—	—	—	M	M D	—	A	A	A	A
	B	—	—	—	M	M D	—	A	A	A	A
Rutland	E	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
St. *Aſaph*	B	—	A	A	—	—	—	—	A	—	A
David	B	—	—	—	—	D	—	—	—	—	A
Scarſdale	E	—	—	—	—	D	—	—	—	—	A
Shrewsbury	E	—	—	—	D	—	—	—	—	—	A
Somerſett	D	A	—	—	M	M D	—	—	—	—	A
Southampton	D	A	—	—	A	—	A	A	A	A	A
Stamford	E	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	M	—
Suffolk	E	A	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	—	A
Suſſex	E	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	—	A
Thanet	E	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	A
Vaughan	L	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	M	A
Ward	L	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	M	A
Weſtmorland	E	—	—	—	M	M	—	—	—	—	A
Weymouth	V	—	—	—	—	A	—	—	—	—	—
Wharton	L	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Winchelſea	E	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	—	A
Wincheſter	M	—	—	D	D	—	—	—	—	—	A
Wincheſter	B	—	—	—	M	M D	—	—	—	—	—
Yarmouth	E	—	—	—	—	—	—	A	A	A	A
York, Arch-Biſhop.		—	—	—	M	M D	—	—	—	—	A

N. B. All theſe Diſſents mention'd in this Table were concerning the VACANCY of the THRONE. For no Lords entered their Diſſents to the Vote on *February* the ſixth for declaring the Prince and Princeſs, King and Queen.

INDEX.

INDEX.

A.

ACTS of Parliament againſt Reſiſtance, *Pag.* 12 *to* 15. Obſervations on them, 15, 16. Explanations on them, 16 *to* 20. Again 20 *to* 23. Acts againſt Diſſenters, 31, 32.

Acts againſt Papiſts, 33 *to* 35. The Teſt Act, 33. The Repealing Act, 34. The Diſabling Act, 35.

Albyville's Weakneſs, 89. His Intelligence, 129.

Anne, Princeſs of *Denmark*, retires from *Whitehall*, 176, 177. She conſents to the Settlement, 222.

Arguments for the Prince of *Orange*'s Government, 218 *to* 222. Againſt a Regency, 235, 236.

Argyle, Earl of, defeated, 64.

Army, ſtanding, 72. It is new modell'd, 82. Disbanded, 192.

Aſſociation, ſign'd by many at *Exeter*, 165. Sign'd again, 216.

B.

Barillon, the *French* Ambaſſador, his Advice, 131, 132. He is ſent away by the Prince of *Orange*, 213.

Biſhops, their Behaviour, 92 *to* 94. Their Tryal, 98. Their Advice to King *James*, 159.

Bonrepos, ſent into *England* by the *French* King to King *James*, 130, 131.

Burnet, Doctor, his Character, 114. Diſcourſes with the Princeſs of *Orange*, 150. Diſcourſes with the Marqueſs of *Hallifax*, 183, 184. He diſcovers the Mind of the Princeſs of *Orange*, 251.

C.

Cambridge, Proceedings againſt that Univerſity, 77.

Charles the Firſt, King, 6.

Charles the Second, King, his Proceedings after the Reſtoration, 11. *&c.* He is under Difficulties, 47, 48. His Satisfaction,

Satisfaction, 52. His Death, 52. His Character, 53. His Conceſſions to his People, 54, 55.
Churchill, Lord, leaves King *James*, 172, 173.
Clarendon, Earl of, turn'd out by King *James*, 74.
Commiſſion Court, 71. Suſpends the Biſhop of *London*, 71. Their Proceedings againſt *Cambridge*, 77. And againſt *Oxford*, and *Magdalen* College, 78 *to* 80.
Commons, their Debates and Proceedings in the Convention Parliament, 229 *to* 231. 243, 244. Further Proceedings, 253.
Convention Parliament, their Election, 208, 209. Their Meeting, 223, *&c.*

D.

Danby. Earl of, makes the Match for the Prince of *Orange*, 110, 111. His extraordinary Proceedings, 166, 167, 168. His Endeavours for the Princeſs of *Orange*, 255.
Dangerfield's Puniſhment, 63.
Dartmouth, Earl of, commands King *James*'s Fleet, 152.
Declaration of Rights by the Convention, 257 *to* 260.
Diſſenters encourag'd by King *James*, 75, 76.
Dutch War, the firſt, 37, 38. The Second, 39, 40.

E.

Edward the Sixth, King, 3.
Elizabeth, Queen, 3, 4, 5.
Embaſſy ſent to *Rome*, by King *James*, 73.
Empire of *Germany*, the State of it, 119.
England in great Danger, 104 *to* 106.
ESTABLISHMENT, the Beginning of it, 207 *to* 222. The Progreſs of it, 223 *to* 245. The Compleating of it, 242 *to* 263.
Excluſion, intended againſt the Duke of *York*, 44 *to* 46.

F.

Fagel's Letter, 88.
France, its Power, 40. 117. Confederacies againſt it, 41. 119.
French King, his Offers to King *James*, 130. His particular Concern for him, 132.

G.

George, Prince of *Denmark*, leaves King *James*, 173.
Godolphin, Lord, Commiſſioner for King *James*, 180, 181.

H.

Halifax, Marquiss of, turn'd out by King *James*, 74. Made Commissioner by him, 180, 181. His Service to the Prince, 252.
Henry the Eighth, King, 2.
Holland, the State of, 120.

I.

James the First, King, 5, 6.
James, the Second, his Character, 57, 58. His first Failings, 58. And first Steps, 60. His Advantages, 65. Breach between him and his People, 67, 68. His Dispensing Power, 69. He caresses his Enemies, 73, 76. Proceedings in *Scotland*, 83. And in *Ireland*, 84. His Declaration for Toleration, 91. Proceedings against the Bishops, 94, 95. 98, 99. He is terrify'd, 136. Applys to the Bishops, 137. Backward Steps, 141. Preparations against the Prince of *Orange*, 142. He discourses with the Bishops, 159, 160. His Declaration, 161. His Answer to the Lords Petition, 170. He prepares to meet the Prince of *Orange*, 170 to 172. He orders a Parliament and Pardon, 180. He treats with the Prince of *Orange*, 183. He is in Suspence, 185. His Flight and Desertion, 187, 188. His Return to *London*, 196. He retires to *Rochester*, 203. He leaves the Nation, 204. His Letters, 227.
Jeffereys, Lord Chancellor, committed to the Tower, 192.
Jesuits, favour'd by King *James*, 73. Their Boldness, 77, 78.
Johnson, his Boldness and Punishment, 72, 73.
Inter-regnum in *England*, 207.
Ireland, the State of, 84.
Irish Night, 193.

L.

Lords, their Power and Proceedings, 208, 209. Their Proceedings in the Convention, 224, 225, 240. Their further Proceedings, 252, 253.

M.

Magdalen College in *Oxford*, proceeded against, 79.
Mary, Queen of *England*, 2, 3.
Mary, Queen to King *James*, her Pregnancy, 85, 86. Her suppos'd Delivery, 96, 97.
Monmouth, Duke of, his Defeat and Death, 64.

N.

Nottingham, Earl of, made Commiſſioner for King *James*, 180, 181. He is for a Regency, 245, &c.
Nuncio, the Pope's, comes from *Rome*, 81.

O.

Oates, his Puniſhment, 63.
Orange, Prince of, his Family, Birth and Education, 105, 106. He comes into *England*, 107. He ſaves his Country, 108. His Military Character, 109, 110. His Marriage, 110, 111. His Intereſt, and a further Character of him, 111 *to* 113. His Activity, 118. Applications made to him, 122. His Caution, 124. His Preparations for *England*, 126. His Declaration, &c. 146, 147, 148. He takes Leave of the *States-General*, 149. He puts to Sea, and is driven back, 150. He again puts to Sea, 153. He lands at *Torbay*, 156. His Progreſs and Arrival at *Exeter*, 162, 163. His Speech to the Gentry, 164. He arrives at *Salisbury*, 175. He is invited to *London* by the Lords, 190, 191. Refuſes to treat with King *James*, 198. He arrives at *London*, 201. He takes the Government upon him, 210. His Adminiſtration, 213 *to* 215. His Letter to the Convention, 223, 224. His Anſwer to their Addreſs, 226. His great Reſervedneſs, 249. He explains himſelf, 250, 251. His Anſwer to the Lords and Commons, 260. He is proclaim'd King of *England*, 261.
Orange, *Mary* Princeſs of, her Character, 115, 116. Her Anſwer to the Earl of *Danby*, 255. She arrives in *England*, 255. Her Heroick Sentiments, 256. She is proclaim'd Queen of *England*, 261.
Original Contract debated, 237, 238.
Ormond, Duke of, turn'd out by King *James*, 75.
Oxford, Univerſity, Proceedings againſt it, 78.

P.

Papiſts, their Inſolence, 97, 98.
Parliament, the Firſt in King *Charles* the Second's Reign, 24 *to* 27. The Second, 28 *to* 37. The Third, 43 *to* 45. The Fourth, 46. The Fifth, 47.
Parliament in King *James* the Second's Reign, 60 *to* 63. Again, 66, 67.
Peers, *See* Lords.
Plot, Gunpowder, 5, 6. *Popiſh*, 35. *Rye-houſe*, 50.
Popery, the Increaſe of it, 70.
Prayers order'd by the Lords in Convention, 226.

R.

REVOLUTION, Steps towards it, 105 *to* 119. Preparations towards it, 120 *to* 135. The Progress of it, 136 *to* 188. The Finishing of it, 189 *to* 205.
Rochester, Earl of, turn'd out by King *James*, 74.
Ronquillo, Pedro, his Conference with King *James*, 131.

S.

Shrewsbury, Earl of, goes over to the Prince of *Orange*, 123. *Skelton*, his Behaviour, 128. He is neglected, 129. Committed to the Tower, 134. Made Governor of it, 180.
Skirmish, the First, 174. The Second, 183.
Scotland, the State of, 83.
Spain, the State of, 129.
Sunderland, Earl of, his Character, 58, 59. His Advice for softning Methods, 100, 101. He refuses the *French* Forces, 130. Again, 134. He is disgrac'd, 145.

T.

TOry Party gains ground in King *Charles* the Second's Reign, 48, 49.

V.

VAcancy of the Throne, debated and voted, 229 *to* 231. It is question'd, 241, 242. Confirm'd by the Lords, 249.

W.

Wales, Prince of, his Birth, *p.* 96, 97. His Baptism, 143.
War, *Dutch*, the First, 37, 38. *Dutch*, the Second, 39, 40. The Beginning of that against *France*, 41, 42. The Opening of it, 121, 122.
Whig Party defeated in King *Charles* the Second's Reign, 48, 49.

9 MR 70

FINIS.